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ITALIAN RENAISSANCE ARCHITECTURE

BY THE SAME AUTHOR :

ÉLÉMENTS D'ARCHITECTURE CLASSIQUE, 60 pl. in-4° raisin, donnant des exemples connus de l'application des ordres. Paris, A. VINCENT, édit., 1904, 1907 et 1920.

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GEORGES GROMORT

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# Italian Renaissance Architecture

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A SHORT HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT  
WITH A SERIES OF 110 PHOTOGRAPHS AND MEASURED DRAWINGS  
AND 45 ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

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TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

BY

GEORGE F. WATERS



PARIS

A. VINCENT, 4, *Rue des Beaux-Arts*

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MCMXXII

1922





## PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Although approached on several occasions by ourselves and from various other quarters to authorise the translation into english of a book which has been much appreciated abroad as well as in France, and notably in the United States of America, the author of this work persistently refused his permission.

He gave the following reasons for so doing: « He had devoted himself to the work for the sake of his pupils because a handbook of this kind was indispensable to them, and surprising as it may seem, nothing of the sort was to be found at any french bookseller's. But he remarked many a time that this work would have been quite superfluous if we had in our possession a french translation of the late W. S. Anderson's book on the same subject, a remarkable book which the author holds high in his estimation and to which he constantly alludes in the present work. Anderson's book was widely circulated in english-speaking countries, so why translate this work, which is inferior from all points of view? »

It appears to us that the author has not done himself justice. We have asked the advice of the most authoritative persons and they are unanimous in pointing out to us that the text, extremely concise from beginning to end, is of great educational value: in short, that the book (which the Institut de France highly honoured by awarding it the Bailly Prize in 1914— while the author was a soldier) is indeed that of a professor addressing young architects, the length of the notes being solely proportioned to the educational value of the works quoted. Then the illustrations admit of a great number of precise measured drawings. Finally, Anderson's book has become almost impossible to obtain.

*The author had other scruples as well: the importance and the size (8vo) of the works are equal, just because that size and importance appeared perfectly suitable in Anderson. And, although the photographic plates had been taken by the author himself, or in his presence by kind friends such as M. Henri Jacquard and M. Paul Huillard, in the course of more than twelve successive journeys, when we applied to the largest Italian firm for a dozen views to complete our series, we received plates (S. Andrea of Mantua, la Salute...) which manifestly were the same which Mr. Anderson had previously acquired the right to reproduce.*

*In this same category we wish to point out that Plate 38 (the Albergati Palace) taken from a previous work was drawn (to a metric scale approaching 1/3 inch to a foot) during a trip in 1899, at a time when the author had never set eyes on Anderson's work, which he has since come to appreciate so much and in which the monument is presented in a so similar manner. It is evident, if that had been the case, that the source of that information would have been noted as for instance in the case of a part of Plate 7.*

*We take this opportunity of thanking Mr. George Waters, the Sculptor, who so courageously has undertaken the delicate task of translating, with so much care, a particularly concise text.*

A. V.



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## CHAPTER I

I. PRINCIPAL CAUSES OF THE RENAISSANCE. — II. ITS CHARACTER, VARIETY OF THE WORKS AND PERSONALITY OF THE ARTISTS, CONSCIENTIOUSNESS AND CHARM. — III. GROUPING OF WORKS IN THREE PERIODS. CHRONOLOGICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL MONUMENTS.

### I

Such a co-operation of propitious circumstances was necessary to give birth to the Renaissance and to favour its expansion, that one is at first amazed that so many diverse conditions could have arisen at an identical epoch in a chosen land. If profound study of the past has thrown a clearer light, in the same way, on the beginning of the ages of Pericles and Augustus, if it could be said from that point of view that every golden age of human thought has been more or less a Renaissance (1), the movement, first literary then artistic, which had its birth in Tuscany towards the beginning of the fourteenth century and was destined to spread thence throughout Italy and the Latin world, remains a unique phenomenon whose recurrence unfortunately it is impossible to hope for.

Among the numerous causes which seem to have influenced the evolution of this fortunate period, some may be attributed to the real enthusiasm of the time for everything connected with ancient literature and civilization, others are rather in the nature of an explanation of how the ar-

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(1) This idea is very well expressed by W. J. Anderson in his book on the same subject (London, Batsford, Pub.) We shall have several opportunities to quote that excellent work which has not been translated into French. At the same time we shall note Mr. Fletcher's outlines (same Pub.) which are very widely known in England and from which we have borrowed the typical disposition of synoptic ornament plates.



tistic movement, once an impetus was given in this direction, was able to acquire, almost from the beginning, such considerable importance and extent. These last influences are by far the most interesting for, though it is but little surprising that on this Latin soil where so many vestiges of the past were still standing, a certain number of artists should dream of refreshing their inspiration by going to the traditional fountain-head, one remains astounded at the simultaneous beginning of an accumulation throughout all Italy of masterpieces such as the following centuries could only glean from after these « able men among the moderns » (1), and that whole periods of art in other lands are distinguished by being content to follow the inspiration of two or three of them.

Under the influence of Dante (+ 1321) then of Petrarch and Boccaccio (+ 1375), literature had clearly shown, about a century before the arts, its new tendencies and its passionate worship of all the glorious memories bequeathed by antiquity. (Everywhere, from the beginning of the fifteenth century, ancient manuscripts were being eagerly searched for and the critical condition of the Roman Empire of the East—which was to fall into the hands of the Turks in 1453, was already tempting many great scholars to leave Constantinople and emigrate to Italy, bringing with them priceless documents.) Nicolas V, former librarian to Cosmo di Medici, and Æneas-Sylvius Piccolomini (Pius II) remained, even on the pontifical throne, the representatives of those humanists, philologists of astounding culture, much less acquainted perhaps with Christian theology than with the works of Aristotle and Plato.

Without being able to share in the same way the enthusiasm of the aristocracy for antique art and literature, the common Tuscan so ingenious and nimble-minded, so fond also of all that is good and beautiful under the bright sun, was not without understanding by some secret intuition

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(1) The author alludes here to the opening pages of La Bruyère : « Everything has been said, we have come too late, etc... One can only glean after the old Masters and the most able men among the moderns. »

that his Roman ancestors, and after them the Christians of the Middle Ages, were after all only the heirs of Greek Paganism. Did not the Popes assume, as did the Emperors before them, the title of Pontifex Maximus? Had not one of them in the early days of the Church advised the Bishops discreetly to substitute in the Pagan temples new statues in the likeness of the ancient gods so as to permit the faithful to become Christians by the force of circumstances and in a certain way without their being aware of it? It is certain from this point of view that tolerance was always pushed rather far, that Renaissance churches often show on their decorative panels scenes from Pagan mythology and that the epoch was truly the century of the « resurrection of the gods », as it has been called.

Nevertheless, neither the tendencies of men of letters nor the noble remains with which the Latin soil was still strewn, nor the predominance of a religion brought from Rome and heir to the Roman world would have sufficed to give to the artistic movement which, during the course of the fifteenth century, spread throughout the whole of Italy, that irresistible impulse which fills us even to-day with a kind of religious astonishment. Antiquity could only have been a stimulus, a means. Its elements were borrowed because great memories clung to them, because they were the tradition. Yet it will be seen that the imitation of its works was never slavish. If the impulse of the Renaissance was so especially favoured, the causes must be sought in the special conditions of public and private life, as in the very generous protection offered to artists by so many princes and cardinals, thus following the example of the papacy whose brilliance and power was becoming greater and greater.

In these towns of ancient Etruria, which were to be the cradle of Modern Art, in Pisa, in Florence, in Siena, there dwelt an earnest and prosperous population always struggling after the attainment of their municipal liberties, in constant rivalry with the neighbouring republics over questions of commerce, politics or art and thereby sufficiently occupied with public affairs to prevent their brilliant quali-

ties from being lost in the pettiness of private interests. It seems that one of the characteristics of this epoch (be it stated for the artist's sake although the observation is quite a general one) is a development, an exaltation of personality. If one of the faults of our time, as Stendhal so bitterly complained, is an unfortunate propensity to disguise the tendencies and the passions which form the depth of our nature and constitute the only elements worthy of characterizing us, the men of the Renaissance on the contrary never hesitated to give free rein to these propensities, good or bad as they might be, and to cultivate carefully those likely to distinguish them from their neighbours. We do not have to enquire what such a conception is worth from a philosophical point of view; it is possible that sometimes it provoked men to debauchery and crime, but it is not to be doubted that, in developing sensibility, it produced very great artists. On the other hand it exalted good instincts to the same extent as evil ones, and it is probable that peoples, like works and individuals, are worth much more possessing a few qualities than lacking any defects.

To the artists formed in this school of energy and character, fifteenth century Italy, by reason of her extreme decentralization, still offered privileged ground. Cut up into a considerable number of small states among which the republics themselves were represented by a Doge or a Podesta, she counted about fifteen ducal and princely courts towards which architects, painters and sculptors were attracted, given their livelihood and respected, but above all where they found a use for their talents: churches and palaces to be built, walls to cover with stirring frescoes, shady gardens to redecorate with fountains and to enliven with a population of statues. The court of the Medici at Florence, those of the Este at Ferrare and the Gonzague at Mantua, those of the Visconti, of the Sforza, the Montefeltre and the Malatesta were all centres of art each of which had its own life, its characteristic work and its masters and all of which at the death of Julius II found themselves temporarily eclipsed by the pontifical court of Cardinal Giovanni di Medici, the Flo-



FLORENCE



GENERAL VIEW, TAKEN FROM S. MINIATO



rentine upon whom fell the honour of giving his name to the century of the Roman Renaissance, and who became the pope Leo X.

From the end of the great schism (1) until the death of Paul V, a period of two hundred years which should interest us more particularly, without doubt every pope did not show himself to be the protector of letters and art in the same degree. The greater men, however, understood that one of the surest means to ensure magnificence to their reign was to leave after them imperishable witnesses to their generosity and prosperity. The lesser ones, or those who lacked time to carry out vast enterprizes, brought honour to themselves almost invariably by completing the work of their predecessors, because of a pious tradition of which history offers too few examples. Among those who were short-lived, the moribund Pius III, who survived only 27 days his election, nevertheless gave Pinturicchio the necessary orders for the execution of his beautiful frescoes of Siena, veritable monuments as much to his own glory as to that of Æneas Sylvius (Pius II).

It would be, however, a clumsy error to judge the pontiffs of the Renaissance by the standards of a priest of our day. Right or wrong, the popes of those two great centuries had as first consideration, the increase, by any means, of their temporal power. These men were princes because they were cardinals, and this rank was conferred on them sometimes at the age of thirteen or fourteen as sons of great families or nephews of popes, apart from any religious consideration. Is it surprising therefore if a Borgia (whose memory moreover appears perhaps viler than warrants) is not quite sure of the words he must recite at some special ceremony?.. He is a della Rovere, much less priest than soldier who, at

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(1) At the death of Gregory XI in 1378 the *great Schism of the west* had broken out. The popes had been living at Avignon for seventy years and that pontiff had decided to return to Rome the year before his death.

There was then for as long a period a double line of popes reigning at Avignon and Rome at the same time. This situation did not come to a complete end until 1449, upon the election of Nicholas V.



the age of sixty, was raised to the pontificat after him. Are we going to judge his public or private conduct as that of a simple curate ?

Soldier to the core, a soldier he will remain; all that his contemporaries will ask of him will be, as pope, to represent Christianity, and as temporal prince to increase the domain of the Church. That is what he did, as far as it concerned him, with more dignity than success.

Let us admit that doubtless the political conception which was that of the entire epoch, the continual hesitations, alliances broken off as soon as concluded, that sort of naive bad faith present in every agreement, have ruined bit by bit the independence of Italy. But the protection accorded by various popes to artists, in their capacity of temporal princes, with their breadth of ideas as leaders of men who are only priests when the occasion demands it, was certainly one of the principal causes of the splendour of the Renaissance. Do we want to appreciate at its true value the importance of that protection? Let us imagine for an instant the Reformation triumphant and, in spite of the unlikelihood of such a supposition, a Luther or a Calvin summoned to the Vatican. We do not need to ask ourselves what religion would have gained or lost in an event of that kind. But one trembles to think what the position of artists in Rome would have become, and the number of masterpieces we should have been deprived of for ever...

Let us review briefly what precedes. If we wish to enumerate the influences, thanks to which the artistic movement could be born and develop, we shall first note that the Council of Constance, in putting an end to the Schism brought about by the return from Avignon, strengthened the power of the popes in Rome and marked the beginning of their domination in Italy, and that this entirely temporal domination made the papacy heir to the Roman World at the moment when the Empire of the East was about to fall into the hands of the Musulmans; and finally that the sub-division of a great number of the Italian-speaking peoples into small States, each possessing its own life, favoured the emulation result-

ing from the rivalry of the princely courts. So much for the political causes. From an artistic point of view it will be well to remember that numerous antique monuments bore witness to the grandeur of a vanished civilization, that their columns and their cornices had often been used, for instance, in the construction of Christian basilicas, with the result that the ancient elements could hardly have been entirely forgotten, moreover when side by side with Gothic importations which did not easily become attuned to their new surroundings. We shall mention, lastly, the reasons for the social order : the organisation of municipal life, commercial prosperity and scientific progress and finally, and above all, the epoch's worship of imagination, of daring, of the many qualities that form and develop character, and which the great men of that time, in all branches of human activity, possessed in such a rare and superb degree.

## II

When at a given moment in its evolution, a period of art ceases of its own accord to make any innovations so that one may look back and delve into the past, one may be certain that the first works produced under the influence of such an idea are very different from the models which are supposed to have inspired them, and that their authors exhibit the surest kind of originality at the very moment when they are quite modestly posing as imitators of the ancients.

At the beginning of a movement of this kind, the architect is not able in fact to change the customs of his time in a day, he must necessarily take into account acquired habits along with the requirements of his plans. Imitation could not be exact. No ancient monument, for instance, could furnish a precise working plan for the façade of a Florentine palace. To realize a conception like that of the Riccardi palace, one could borrow from antiquity only the beautiful detail, only the spirit of a robust basement architecture.

Also, without attempting to modify the ideas of the time on a definite programme, one limits oneself to treating subjects a little differently or with a new type of decoration. But this naive kind of timidity is hardly the case except among the fore-runners of the movement. And sometimes, their own pupils, going beyond the ideas of the great masters, already betray their intentions in pushing imitation further than they themselves would have done. Instead of adapting classic plans to the requirements of the present, quite an opposite method is soon adopted. One seems to be trying to discover how these requirements could be sacrificed to make way for the use of a definite plan, and we arrive step by step to the servile imitation of the antique, the further the beginnings of this evolution are left behind (1).

It is thus we might say that the Roman motive of Triumphant Arch is reproduced much more exactly in the Trevi fountain (1834) (*Pl.* 65) than in the so-called *rhythmic motive* of Bramante or in Alberti's façade of Sant' Andrea (1472)

*Pl.* 17). It can be admitted that it is a phenomenon common to all revivals. But it is important for us to note that they do not really begin to copy, and especially copy themselves, until their absolute decline.

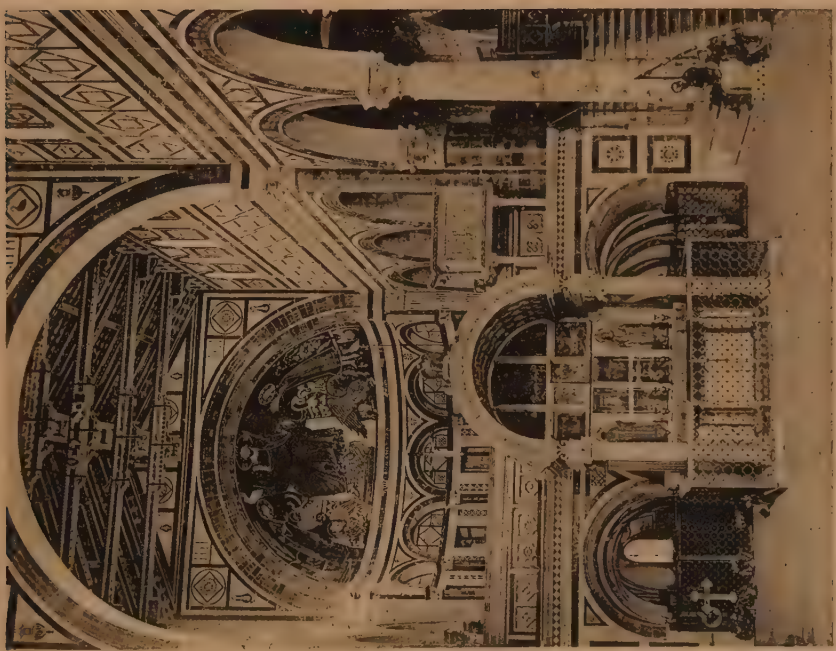
It is a point worth insisting upon, not only as an answer to detractors of this admirable epoch, but because it is precisely a question of fact touching one of its principal characteristics. The architects of the Renaissance have been censured for having stopped the production of all original work in order to devote themselves to the reproduction of monuments already more than twelve centuries old. That is being extraordinarily mistaken as regards the documentary value of the remains which ancient Rome has left us. As we have already said, artists of such worth as Michelozzo, Brunelleschi, or later Bramante, have, above all, showed an exaggerated modesty by representing themselves but as simple imitators. « I want to raise the Roman Pantheon » said Bramante when he first conceived the idea of Saint

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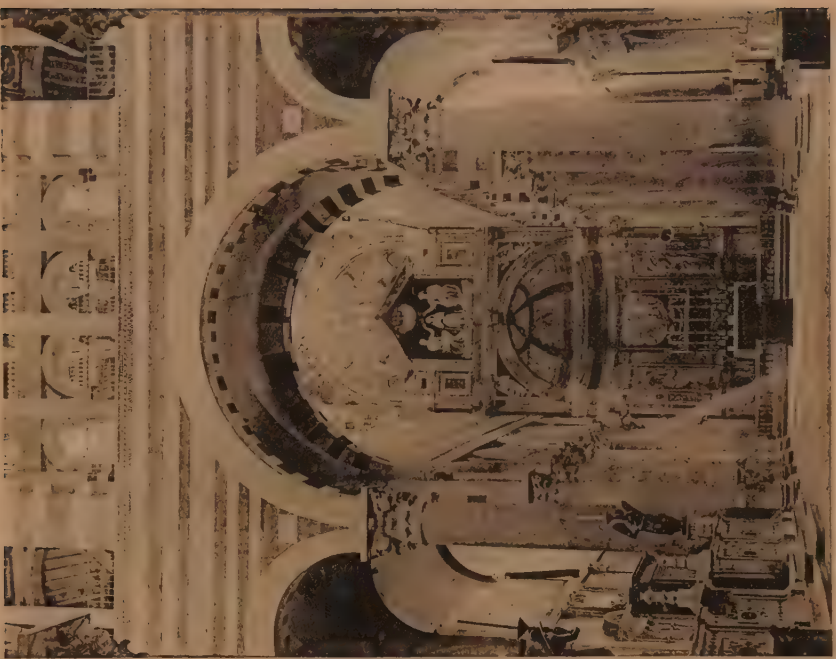
(1) Observation borrowed from Mr. Anderson.



FLORENCE



PISA



SAN-MINIATO

TRANSEPT IN CATHEDRAL



Peter's « on the vaults of the Temple of Peace » (1). He evidently knew what he meant. But who will be made to believe that it was sufficient to superpose these two edifices to obtain the result with which we are acquainted, and that Bramante did not actually *invent* something that day ?

On the contrary, we state it as a fact that at no period has architecture given proof of greater originality by reason of extreme *diversity*. Antique art, Greek art especially, had voluntarily limited its field to interesting itself in the solution of a number of very restricted problems. One knows that sculpture had adopted for its gods, its heroes or its simple athletes, a few hieratic poses patiently studied to perfection. Greek architecture, pushing further still this reverence for form, for established dispositions, has left us almost nothing besides the peristyle of its temples; and one of the characteristics of the Renaissance will be to free itself from any trammels of this kind, not to be prescribed nor forbidden the use of any subject or of any arrangement. The only bond which unites its innumerable manifestations is the use of Graeco-Roman elements as orders, ornamentation and mouldings. But what diversity in the application of them! One may try to characterize, by means of a few typical details, the productions of a certain period in Florence, in Venice and later in Paris under Louis XIV or Louis XVI; for the Renaissance in general it is absolutely impossible. It is not, properly speaking, one style, it is the *ensemble* of all the styles which make use of the same elements.

It is precisely for that reason that there has never been any definite Italian architecture. There was, on the one hand, the Renaissance which studied, it seems, all the possible combinations of the elements in question, and on the other hand, the architecture produced during following centuries by the different countries which felt its influence. One can hardly realize, for instance, how considerable was the prestige of Palladio at a certain period: in England, and especially in France, a small number of his great schemes were

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(1) The Basilica of Maxentius completed by Constantine.

adapted (and there according to the propriety and the taste of the national temperament). This gave birth in the Seventeenth Century to the so-called *french* architecture. If one wishes to retain this title, which is justified from certain points of view, one must refrain from calling *italian* (1) the motives of the same value and origin that we have not considered it fitting to make use of.

If, on the other hand, the early Renaissance did nothing but copy, and if the artists who followed confined themselves to repeating everlastingly a few motives taken from Greek and Roman ruins, how can one explain (even taking into account political decentralization) that, at this epoch each city was so different one from the other; that in each of them constructions of the same architect had so marked a character; and lastly, that among these works, which are the fruit of an identical inspiration, one finds that inexhaustible variety which at Vicenza, for instance, marks the genius of a Palladio?

- ↳ Contrary to what happened throughout the Middle Ages, the artists of the Renaissance possessed above all a very marked personality; they made their talent so flexible that in every one of their works the perception of and search for character gave rise to the most diverse effects, and we shall see in the course of our study, how cities emphasize still greater dissimilarity. It is the primary instinct of the Renaissance: constant variety resulting from the artist's personality.

The second is an exquisite quality, a rare privilege, which these works barely possess—even those of first rank—which, by their rather lofty conception, purposely keep aloof from us. That is *charm*. It will not obviously occur to anyone to use this word to define the impression produced by a tragedy of Sophocles, nor in general by any of the expressions

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(1) Such as is sometimes done with a shade of contempt.



of the order one may call *sublime*, which command our admiration in a flash and leave us more breathless than fascinated, after the enthusiasm they excite. Let it not be supposed for that reason that charm is inherent in minor work; it can be found in clever productions as well as in those of lesser scope or more modest pretensions. It is not a degree in the hierarchy of qualities, it is one which joins in appreciably with others, and is of all the one which appeals most to our feelings. Face to face with the sculptures of the florentine Renaissance, in the galleries where are exhibited, for instance, the works of Donatello, what artist is there who will not recall that his first impulse was to look for a chair? One does not want to glance at them in passing, one wants to sit down and spend a long time in front of them. No sooner is one seated than one wonders if the number of museums to be visited will allow one to come back once more; already one anticipates the pleasure to be had in finding these beautiful things again the next trip: a feverish excitement which one recalls with a smile but which one feels, however, in front of *certain* works of art, in spite of the admiration we have for a great many others. It is to their *charm* that we owe this...

Few epoques have possessed so completely as the Renaissance the secret of this indefinable seductiveness. Very few, moreover, have produced so many works of art, pleasing as well as strong (1).

Sculpture, as we have said, no longer limiting its domain to using nature solely to attain the perfection of a few types, now takes nature herself as a field of study. It is no longer a means but an end. No subject remains alien to it, provided that there is a feeling of Beauty to give birth to, and the impression produced is the more vivid as the artist expresses in his work his own preferences, his own emotions. He chooses his model or his subject because he loves it, because nothing else seems to him so pleasing or so beautiful. One

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(1) Michael Angelo himself knew how to put charm into the Medici tombs. Their virility is not to be denied.

feels that at no time was his work laborious. He put a sort of loving conscientiousness into it. Every moment of it was a joy.

There is not the same reason for Architecture to study nature so closely. However, it is practiced most often by artists who have been painters or sculptors. They appreciate it at its true value, do not deceive themselves as regards its difficulties and never cease to take interest in the solution of new problems. In the case of these many productions where it is not a question of imposing works of art characterized above all by their majesty, this atmosphere of seductiveness, which we have mentioned, is always felt, and is often the master quality. When one looks at the Hospital of Pistoia, the Library at Venice, or the church *dei Miracoli* in the same city, whatever the merits of these dissimilar compositions may be, is one not tempted before all to extol their *charm*?

It is because Architecture, also, has had her passionately devoted adepts. From the three marble steps by which one reaches the portico of the *Libreria Vecchia* to the topmost mouldings of the balustrade which crowns its brilliant cornice, there is not a line, not a detail of ornament the study of which seemed less useful, or rather less *amusing*, to the artist than any other. And we speak here of a building by Sansovino who very rarely forgot that he was above all a sculptor. One can almost guess that in composing his motive he *saw* his admirable frieze from the very first. Let not this be any objection : the architectural details have been studied, caressed, we might say, with the same loving conscientiousness of which we spoke a moment ago. Quite a spontaneous conscientiousness, however, and one that we are hardly called upon to credit the artist with. He was *amusing himself*, and there does not seem to be very great merit in that...

How could works of art conceived with such fervour and executed from beginning to end with so much delight be really tedious ? Did their authors really possess so little happiness, or rather so little common ability ? The least



*Cliché P. Huillard*

THE BAPTISTERY : SAN GIOVANNI



THE BADIA DOOR



WINDOW, PITTI PALACE





particle of talent, backed up by such a way of working, ought to produce interesting things: what if these methods are placed at the service of genius?

✕ The first characteristic of the Renaissance was inexhaustible variety. It was as much a result of the artist's personality as of the very broad spirit which was lent to the interpretation of the antique. The distinct sensation of constant joy, with which their work was studied in its smallest details, is certainly one of the causes which make it possible for them to exercise over us, at first sight, such a strange and powerful seduction. It is another characteristic of this great epoch, and doubtless not the least, this *charm* of which we have just spoken, that emanates from all its creations.

### III

When one leaves the domain of pure science, it is certain that all classification, is, in a large measure, arbitrary. It seems, however, that an attempt should be made at the beginning of a study requiring as does ours, the examination of a great number of examples, to group together, more or less, the elements of the documentation. It is always easy later, once we are familiar with the most important creations, to make one's own classification, based on the point of view which appears the most favourable at the moment. And that will certainly be the best method of all, as one will be sure to find one's way without difficulty.

A system rather often adopted to classify the monuments of the Italian Renaissance consists in grouping them geographically. As the chief cities were each more or less the centre of a particular school, one studies successively the evolution of an artistic movement in each of them. This apparently very simple classification has its drawbacks however. One is led at first to make a rather large number of divisions which obscure the clear view of the whole, and then one cannot avoid at the beginning of each chapter a chronological review to get back to the beginning of the Re-

naissance in each city. Among the things one describes, one loses sight of those of the same period but in different places. Lastly and above all, this method can lead one to suppose that all these different schools did not influence each other in spite of their great diversity. It would be easy to forget, for instance, that the Renaissance, florentine by birth, remained such for a very long time even in Rome, during the first half of the Sixteenth Century, after the centre of art was gradually moved there, for the Medici, as Popes, brought with them their favourite artists and the great names of the period, at least up to its zenith, are all Tuscan or from neighbouring provinces, such as the borderland of Umbria.

For our study, we have preferred to adopt a grouping in chronological order, the principal elements of which are as follows :

✧ The Renaissance, in quite a general sense, was Florentine at the beginning, Roman at its zenith and still again Roman in its decline. The first period comprises the whole of the Fifteenth Century (1). The year 1500 clearly marks the beginning of the great epoch and this second period lasts until about 1550. It is then finally, under the influence of Michael Angelo's imitators, that commenced what one has agreed to call the Decadence, the Decay. A denomination which is admissable if one wishes thereby simply to express that time has elapsed, that after the hesitations and the patient researches of the early days one finds no more artists achieving the purity of a Bramante, a Sangallo or a Peruzzi, a very dangerous expression if used in an unfavourable sense, for the end of the Sixteenth Century in Rome has been too much slandered. It must not be forgotten on the other hand that the years 1550 to 1580, in Vicenza, saw the realization of such new, diverse and instructive conceptions of the master who was to have the most decisive effect on modern architecture : Palladio.

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(1) What the Italians call Quattrocento.

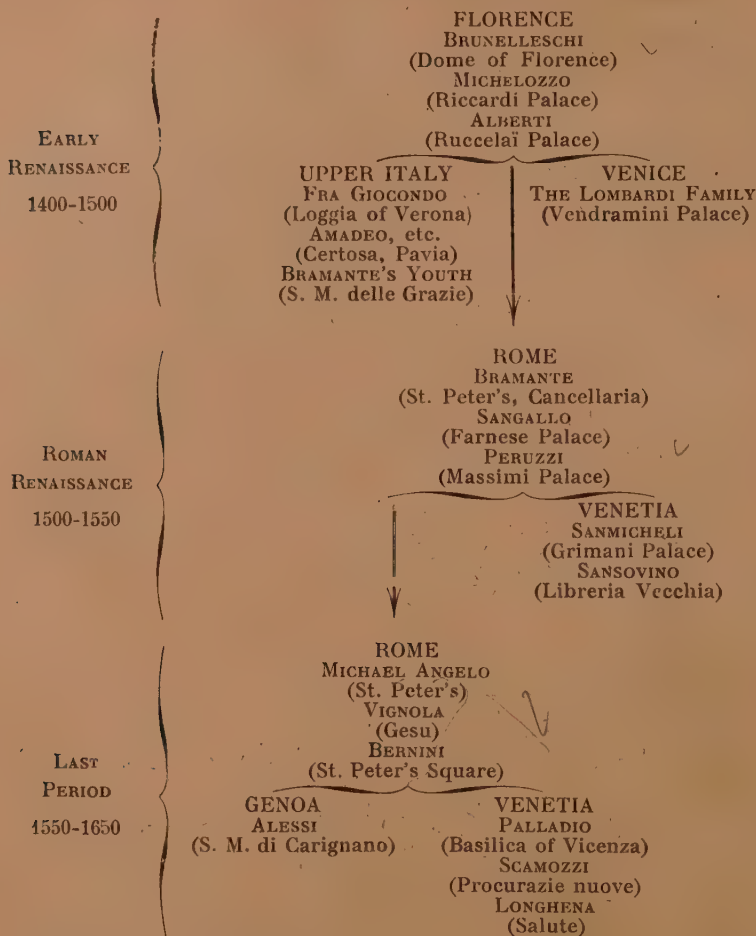
These three divisions once established, one may define what was for each the influence of the principal centre, Florence or Rome, on the other cities of Italy. With the Fifteenth Century in Florence, it is convenient to group early Renaissance work in and around Milan and in Northern Italy; during the second period, the edificies raised by San Micheli and Sansovino in Venetia after their stay in Rome or the papal states; and during the last period, as we have just recalled, the work of Palladio and his pupils at Vicenza or Venice and that of Galeas Alessi at Genoa.

It will be noticed that Venice, which kept apart a long time from Florence and Rome for political and economic reasons, felt their influence all the same in each of the three periods, but always somewhat later (1).

This grouping of the whole may be reviewed in the following chart on which the names of the most celebrated artists alone are given, with the names of the works which have made them universally famous.

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(1) « This seaborne city is remarkable as containing work of all periods from its early Christian foundation to the eighteenth century, and perhaps the best of each period, and for these reasons is architecturally the most interesting city in Europe. » (*Anderson*, chap. V).



We shall give now a chronological list of the buildings with which we are to occupy ourselves, showing the progress of the Renaissance during one identical period in the various art centres. It is hardly necessary to say that a nomenclature of this kind is confined to monuments with which it is *indispensable* to be acquainted; a work outlined as ours is can only furnish a generality of ideas worthy of forming the basis of a more complete study.





FLORENCE



THE GATE OF THE BAPTISTERY



*Cliché P. H.*

AMMANATI'S FOUNTAIN AND THE "NARROCCO"

NEAR THE PALAZZO VECCHIO

## CHAPTER II

### THE FLORENTINE RENAISSANCE

MONUMENTS IN PISA. — BRUNELLESCHI AND MICHELOZZO. —  
BENEDETTO DA MAJANO AND THE CRONACA. — ALBERTI. —  
GIULIANO DA SANGALLO AND BACCIO D'AGNOLO. — THE  
FIFTEENTH CENTURY AT ROME. — THE DECORATORS. —  
THE DELLA ROBBIAS. — DONATELLO.

It is almost a tradition, when one speaks of the origins of the Renaissance, to look for its first evidences in the works of Niccola Pisano. Doubtless this means going back rather far. The pulpit in the Baptistry of Pisa (1260) and the one in the Cathedral of Siena (1266) which are generally alluded to, are truly delicate and attractive works in which the imitation of ancient sarcophagi from the Campo Santo is visible in certain bas relief, but the architectural part of these compositions remains clearly gothic in spirit and detail, and it seems difficult to assume that either could have marked a date in the particular evolution of our art.

It must not be forgotten, however, that Pisa — and that well before the Florentine Renaissance — had attained by the conquest of the sea, an importance which assured for almost a century, that intellectual and political supremacy that Florence was to rob her of, as well as her liberty (1406). If these artists are still only the forerunners of the Renaissance, they are already of the race of those who will contribute to its growth, and their work, at least, is the first of Tuscan art. All those whose feet have trodden the lovely field where rises the Duomo with its unforgettable background, who have walked through the five naves, spellbound, and have inspected this admirable edifice which perhaps rivals Monreale and one or two Roman basilicas in the glory of being the most beautiful church in the world, have had the right to ask

themselves, surprised to find so much charm and purity in a building constructed between 1063 and 1092, if really one ought not to have sought the origin of the renewal of the arts at Pisa, and at this distant epoch, and such is the attraction of this fallen city that one finds oneself wishing it were true. It is no use however, for it is a question of an earlier work, even in Tuscany, than the beginning of the Gothic period. In reality Romanesque art, on a soil abounding in Roman remains, saw remarkable churches rising almost everywhere in Italy, and what is pleasing here is not so much the result of new tendencies, as the fact of happy modifications introduced into primitive basilical forms. There is no reason, as

regards detail, to be surprised to see attic bases and corinthian capitals. As long as ancient ruins furnished columns or simple shafts, they were put up and used such as they were, but when these elements were no more to be found, instead of creating new ones, the existing models were simply reproduced.

Furthermore, it is hardly possible to count as productions of the Renaissance, the buildings every interesting ones none the less erected in Florence during the course of the second half of the Fourteenth



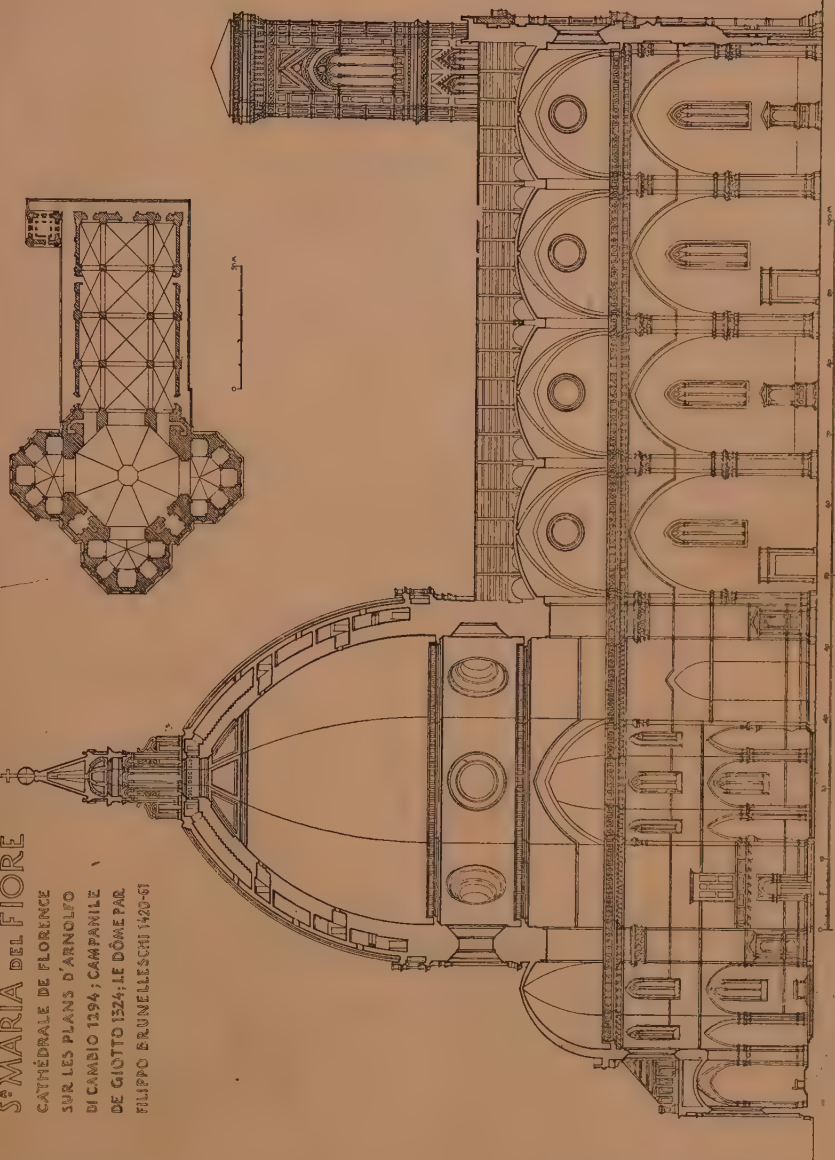
*Loggia dei Lanzi.*

Century and that even when the semi-circular arch is already replacing the broken one, as in the celebrated *Loggia dei Lanzi* which dates from 1376. It is the dawn of



# S. MARIA DEL FIORE

CATHÉDRALE DE FLORENCE  
SUR LES PLANS D'ARNOLFO  
DI CAMBIO 1394; CAMPANILE  
DE GIOTTO 1324; LE DÔME PAR  
FILIPPO BRUNELLESCHI 1420-61



LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF THE DOME



the Fifteenth Century which is to shine on the resurrection of ancien art.

At the same time as he was modifying the Baptistry (*San Giovanni* (Pl. 3 and 4) the Master Arnolfo di Cambio had, after 1294, undertaken the planning and execution of the three vast naves of the cathedral of *Santa Maria del Fiore* (Pl. 5). His work was continued by Giotto who erected the Campanile, then by Francesco Talenti, until in 1367, a period when the greatest uncertainty was shown as regards the disposition to be adopted for the choir, the apse and especially the cupola, even though a committee of about twenty architects had been named to solve this important problem. The last thirty years of the century had passed without the difficulty being overcome, because of the colossal dimensions of the space to be vaulted, and the question remained untouched until, during 1401, a circumstance of an entirely different order (as it is sometimes the case) presented itself to change the face of things by revealing to himself (and in the most unexpected fashion), the artist who was to exercise such a happy influence on the destinies of the Renaissance, the great Filippo Brunelleschi.

It was then decided, in fact, to hold a competition between several able sculptors to choose one to execute a large bronze doorway intended for the Baptistry. Each half was to bear fourteen identical panels ornamented with scenes in bas relief. The portion submitted to competition was one of the panels, of a given form and dimensions, which represented the sacrifice of Abraham. The most remarkable compositions were those of Brunelleschi and Lorenzo Ghiberti; after a hesitation which was quite justified (1) the latter won, and it was he who carried out not only the door in question, which is to be found on the North side of the building, but subsequently in 1425, the East door as well, which is infinitely superior.

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(1) These two compositions are still to be seen in the Bargello Museum in Florence.

Born in 1377, and at that moment full of the strength and enthusiasm of his twenty five years, eager to attain the place among the artists of his time which he knew he could be worthy of one day, Filippo Brunelleschi felt over this defeat, honourable though it was, a disappointment bitter enough to drive him away from Florence for the time being and to send him, as one of the first, to study in Rome the remains of antiquity. Perhaps he already foresaw that these labours would lead him to apply himself more especially to architecture, if only in order to endow his country with the Duomo so long uncompleted. He left in 1403, taking with him a young sculptor of seventeen, his friend Donato di Niccolo di Betti Bardi who was soon to make illustrious the beloved and ever famous name of Donatello (1386-1466).

It can be said that these artists of the early Renaissance were almost all sculptors to begin with. For a while each of these men received the same practical training in the workshops of the master chasers or medallists who worked in bronze or precious metals for the sake of enlightened amateurs, trying their hand one day at modelling some delicate figurine or ornamenting a suit of inlaid armour with graceful arabesques, and another day hollowing out

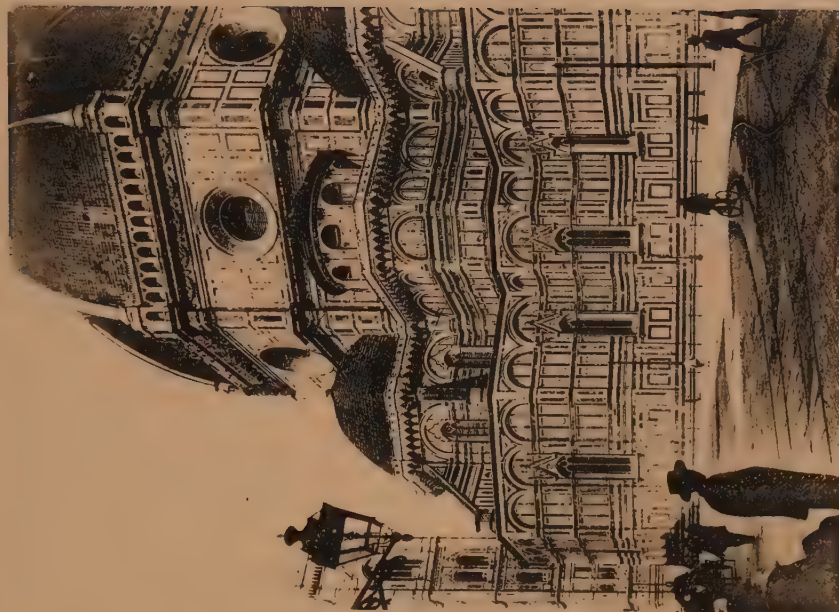
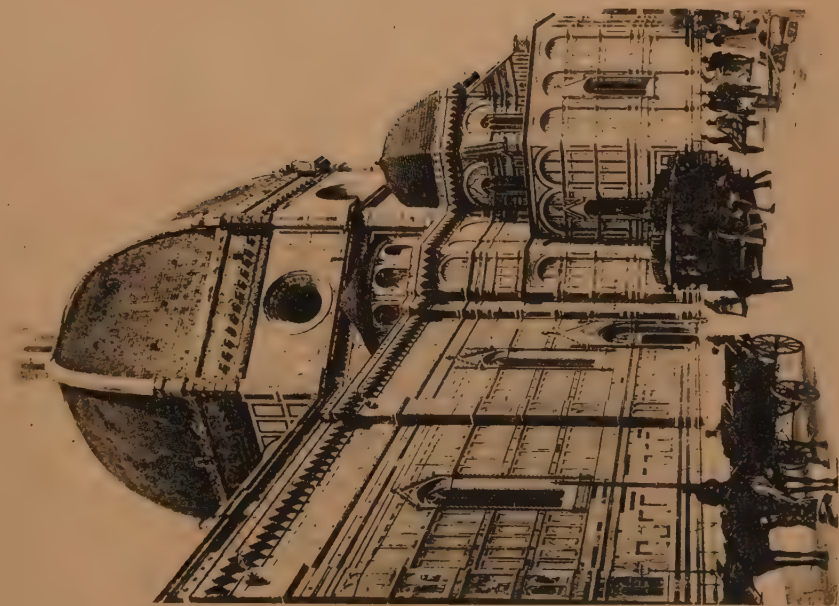
au gré des belles filles,  
Dans un pommeau d'épée une boîte à pastilles (1).

« Goldsmith's Shops », such were in their way the studios where young artists learned to draw accurately and unhurriedly, counting time and pains as naught, mindful only of the result obtained. Each one occupied with quite different work, they acquired before all else, and in all its forms, the comprehension of the Beautiful. Circumstances or their personal taste could lead them to devote themselves more especially to architecture, they did not stop working as sculptors now and then, and it will be seen that certainly

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(1) « To please the beautiful ladies a box for pastilles in the pommel of a sword. » V. Hugo (*Ruy-Blas*).





TWO VIEWS OF THE DOME (S. MARIA DEL FIORE)

*Clichés P. H.*



one among them, Benedetto da Majano, practised both arts with an equal mastery. At a later period of the Renaissance we shall find painter-architects such as Bramante, Raphaël, Peruzzi; at Florence these are still primarily sculptors and less statue makers than what we nowadays should call ornament modellers.

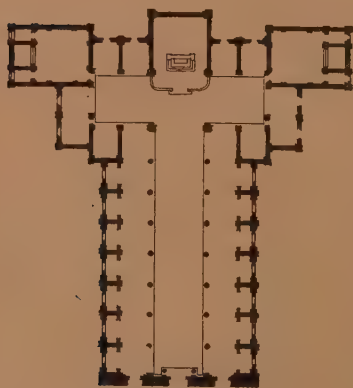
During a journey lasting several years, Brunelleschi and Donatello were marvellously helped by their activity and their sincerity, guided by a refined sense of the beautiful. We shall have an occasion to specify what this great sculptor was able to gain from his long familiarity with antique art. In what concerns Brunelleschi, the exhaustive study of the monuments of Rome, and notably the Pantheon with its dome in a perfect state of preservation, determined him to direct all his efforts to the completion of *Santa Maria del Fiore*. Upon his return, twelve or thirteen years of persevering effort were still required simply to convince the engineers of his time of the possibility of carrying out the project of the dome according to his plans, and to construct it by course without centering, a tremendous simplification for that epoch. It was at last Brunelleschi's privilege to erect from 1420 to 1434 his admirable dome; but he did not see its entire completion, for the lantern was not finished until 1461, fifteen years after his death which took place in 1446. Moreover the cornice and the small gallery which crown the drum on the outside were never completed save on one face of the octagon, that which looks south-east (See *Pl. 6*).

The inside measurement of the dome of Florence is forty four meters. Its great elevation, due to its curve in a pointed arch, is augmented by a drum pierced with large circular openings, a first example of this disposition since adopted so often but which did certainly not facilitate the constructor's task by raising the spring of the vault. The weight is distributed among the eight principal nerves and sixteen other intermediate ones, a strong wooden ring, banded with iron, being placed at the base of the dome (to take the thrust). The effect of this octagonal composition is very striking.

It is partly due to the arrangement of the plan which permitted of the inclusion of all three aisles, the total width of the church. From this point of view Santa Maria del Fiore is very much superior to St. Peter's but even considered by itself, the dome at Florence can rival his roman brother built a century later, on an entirely different principle.

Work of such importance, naturally, must have made its author enough talked about to permit him to give free rein to his genius in other work. Hardly had he received the official commission to construct the dome of Santa Maria that he was asked to erect the Mortuary Chapel of the Pazzi family in the cloister of Santa Croce (*Pl. 7*). This little monument, adorned with delicate sculptures by Donatello and Della Robbia, seems to be the first edifice in which the spirit of the Renaissance is shown in a rather definite manner. For us it possesses the great interest of being an attempt,

timid enough still, at a solution of that problem which, for two hundred years, will dog the steps, of every artist, when it is a question of religious architecture: the plan in the form of Greek cross, (that is to say with arms of equal length) crowned by a dome on pendentives. The plan of the Pazzi chapel does not, perhaps, yet clearly express the aim in view. It is understood at a glance after examining the dome of the *Carceri Church* at Prato,



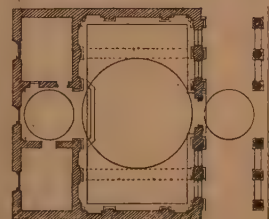
*Plan of San Lorenzo.*

which is represented opposite. The addition of the drum gave already more elegance to this pleasing composition, which dates from 1485; it is the work of Giuliano da Sangallo. Thirty years later, his brother Antonio is to adopt the same scheme at Montepulciano. We shall have occasion to speak of it again.



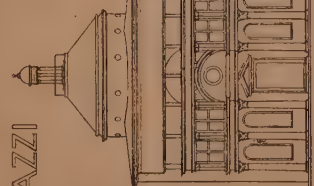
# CHAPELLE PAZZI

DANS LE CLOITRE DE  
S<sup>T</sup>-CROCE, A FLORENCE  
F. BRUNELLESCHI, 1420

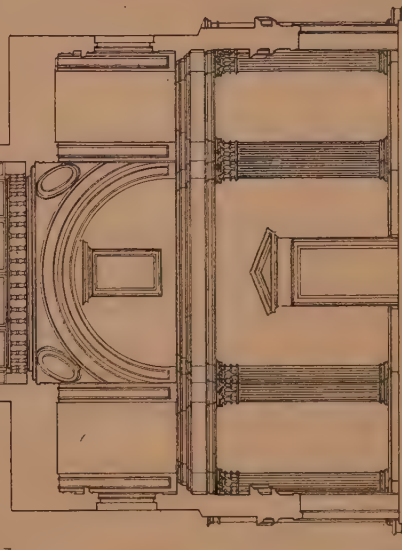


# S<sup>A</sup> MARIA DELLE CARCERI

A PRATO, TOSCANE.  
GIV. DA SANGALLO, 1465



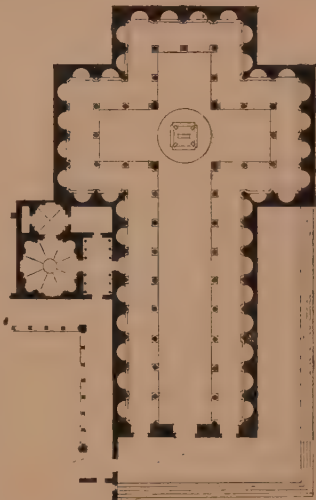
ELEVATION DE LA CHAP. PAZZI  
A L'ECHELLE DU PLAN



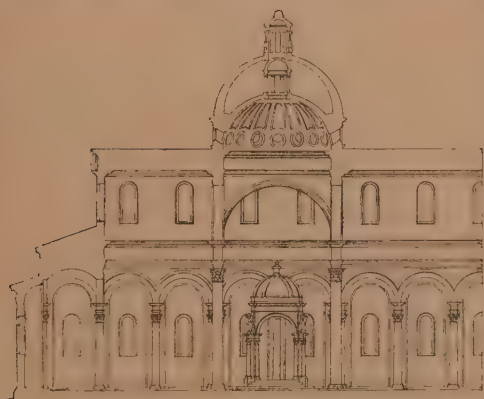
Dessin de l'auteur d'après Anderson et Laspayres.



Besides the chapel of the Abbey of Fiesole, a building of perfect proportions in its austere simplicity (1), Brunelleschi's religious architecture also comprises two large churches in Florence of rather unequal merit : San Lorenzo and San Spirito. The plans of the former, carried out about 1425, with its side chapels placed in alignment with the choir, recall to us once more the arrangement of certain gothic churches in Florence, especially Santa Croce, that Pantheon of Florentine glory. San Lorenzo was erected chiefly at the expense of the Medici family, and it is here in one of the sacristies that, a century later, Michael Angelo built the celebrated tombs of Lorenzo and Juliano. The plan of San



*Plan of San Spirito.*



*Section of San Spirito.*

des are vaulted with a series of little domes on pendentives,

Spirito, conceived in 1433, but not completed until after Brunelleschi's death, shows in its simplicity a much greater freedom of method, the construction and decoration remaining however very like San Lorenzo. Both churches have flat ceilings over the nave, the lower si-

(1) Not built until after the death of its author, about 1462.

× the crossing crowned also by a dome of the same kind. The architectural decoration is identical, the arches of the nave resting on single Corinthian columns with the introduction of an entablature between the archivolt and the capital, a feature which, in Florence, seems to have been a characteristic detail of the period. It is not to be supposed that the Renaissance produced, with one or two exceptions, as impressive churches as the admirable basilicas of primitive Christian architecture; but from the simple point of view of line every question of character put aside, Brunelleschi's religious edifices afford us none the less great interest because of the elegance and beautiful proportion of their motives, and also because of their variety and the novelty of the scheme adopted, which offers each time a further problem to the ingenuity of architects to come. What could be more dissimilar, indeed, than the four buildings of which we have just spoken?

Civil architecture, on its side, did not inspire the great artist with any less varied conceptions. As regards the Hospital of the Innocents (1419) or the loggia of S. Paolo, piazza Santa Maria Novella (1451), two studies of a same characteristic Tuscan « parti » (1), it is easily seen that the artist was only seeking grace and extreme lightness of manner (Pl. 8). When in 1435 it was a question of building for Luca Pitti the enormous palace with its cyclopean courses (2) which, with the Duomo, remains Brunelleschi's most celebrated work, it seems, on the contrary that he only wishes to give an impression of irresistible force and absolute severity : one can hardly contemplate his long façade without thinking of giant's work (Pl. 9).

This vigour and severity (perhaps forced upon the architect by his client) were rarely found, let us say, so out of

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(1) It occurs again, for instance, at the Hospital of Pistoia (Pl. 19).

(2) The rustication of the Pitti Palace in courses of unequal height in which each stone has a projection different from the others, gives the impression of blocks of stone roughly quarried out; it is a marvellous sort of basement architecture. On the terrace which bounds the square on the side of the *Via Romana* certain blocks of stone have a projection of 2 feet 6 (see plate 70).





LOGGIA S. PAOLO (PIAZZA S. M. NOVELLA)



# FLORENCE



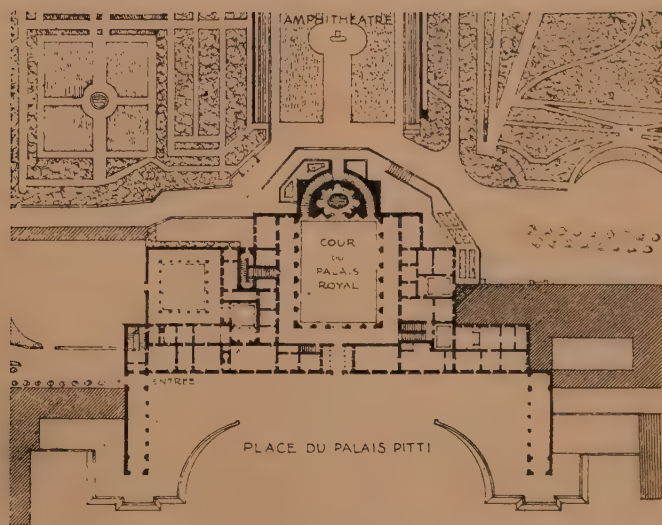
FAÇADE OF THE PITTI PALACE (SEEN FROM S. SPIRITO'S CAMPANILE)

*Cliché Alinari*





place with the programme. It was only a question, after all, of a town residence for a magistrate of the Republic, a simple citizen who only flattered the growing power of Cosmo de Medici, in order later to conspire against his son and to enrich himself, in the meantime, at the expense of the coffers of the State. A rival of the Medici, he wished to eclipse, less refined upstart that he was, in dimensions and luxury their more modest palace (*Pl. 10 and 11*) erected by Michelozzo, not far from Santa Maria. He only succeeded in getting the central portion of the immense structure built. Perhaps, like Fouquet later, who was also accused of malpractices, he awoke in Cosmo the Elder's successors the jealousy that Louis XIV felt — it is said — about the park and castle of



*Plan of the Pitti palace.*

Vaux. It happened that abandoned in 1466, as a result of the discovery of the plot to which we have alluded, the *Pitti Palace*, completed by the Medici, in 1568, was used as the Residence of the Grand Dukes from then on.

It is not known exactly what was Brunelleschi's idea as

regards the completion of the upper part of this palace. It may seem likely that the absence of a principal cornice indicates the intention of a further story. In spite of the undeniable impression of power which this composition exudes, in which absolutely nothing is sacrificed to ornament, it has more the appearance of a fortress, a barracks or a prison than of a private dwelling. It may be said that in the midst of the struggle of political parties, florentine palaces had to assume, on occasion, the character of any of these three kinds of buildings; but perhaps the beautiful architecture of the *Riccardi* palace (1) sufficiently express this preoccupation.

It must not be forgotten that the superb pedimented windows which fill the arcades on the ground floor of the Pitti Palace (*Pl. 3*) were added by Bartolomeo Ammanati (1568). He also is responsible for the decoration of the courtyard, with its superimposed rusticated orders, which perhaps was later an inspiration when De Brosse built for Maria de Medici in Paris the palace in which she wished to find memories of her florentine homeland (2). This courtyard, diversely appreciated, has been judged a bit severe by Burckhardt : « It is » he says « a structure of frightful form and proportions ». It may be a work of the period of decline, but it is certainly not unattractive.

This taste for the gigantic, this insolent luxury which Luca Pitti was not afraid to display in the house of a simple private individual, the head of the Medici family, who however, was to found a line of popes, cardinal and princes, had deliberately repudiated (3). Refusing the plan, too imposing for his liking, which Brunelleschi proposed, he gave his approval to the drawings of Michelozzo Michelozzi (1396-1472) who built for him, beginning in 1430, the admirable *Riccardi Palace* (*Pl. 10 and 11*) of which the architecture is

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(1) In reality the *Medici Palace* built by Michelozzo. We have kept to the name by which it is generally known.

(2) The Luxembourg (1611).

(3) « Envy, he said, is a plant which must not be watered. »



CORNICE OF THE STROZZI PALACE



*Cliché Alinari*

RICCARDI PALACE

humanists and scholars, in having been the first client of architects, such as Brunelleschi and Michelozzo, and in his having given artists like Donatello, Masaccio, and his restless pupil, Filippo Lippi, the opportunity of revealing to the world that it was possible to find again strength, grace, fruitfulness and, better still, originality and life at the fountain head of antiquity.

While he reserved for Brunelleschi the great conceptions of monumental architecture, the building of Santa Maria, San Lorenzo and the new church of San Spirito, Cosmo entrusted to Michelozzo the erection of the Convent of St. Mark, his villa of Careggi and his country houses at Fiesole and Caffagiolo. It was to their shade he came to throw off the cares of public life, in the society of the philosophers whom he loved. It is from there he wrote one day to young Marsilio Ficino: « Yesterday I arrived at Careggi less with the desire to improve my lands than to improve myself. Come and see me, Marsilio, as soon as you can, and do not forget to bring with you the book of your divine Plato on the Supreme Good. There are no efforts I would not make to discover true happiness. Come, and do not fail to bring with you the lyre of Orpheus » (1). Man of the Renaissance, he has in this case well assimilated the spirit of those philosophers whom he admired. Is there not something of a reflection in those few lines of the classic soul, and could not one believe one was reading a fragment of Pliny the Younger, or Cicero, rather than the letter of a Florentine of the Quattrocento?

Michelozzo collaborated with Donatello over the execution of the pretty out-door pulpit at Prato, and it was he, too, who gave to the Court of Palazzo Vecchio at Florence (2) the aspect which we know to-day. The delicate decoration of Arabesques in stucco, however, only dates from 1565. They are the work of Marco da Faenza.

Doubtless the case is true of building as of all works in

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(1) *Italy and Renaissance*. Vol. I, p. 79.

(2) Also called the Palace of the Signoria.

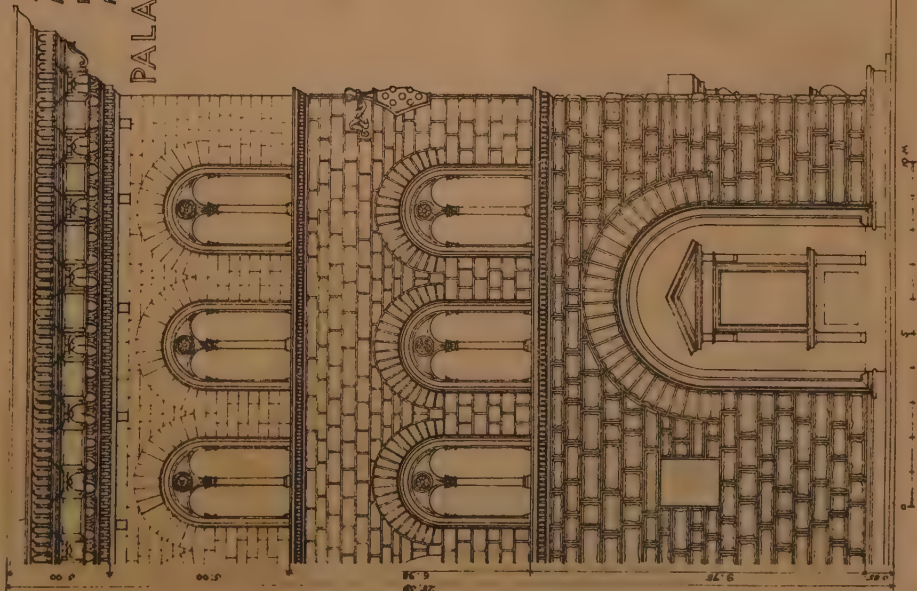
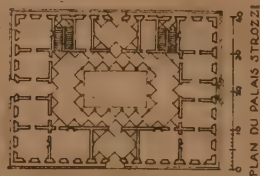


A GAUCHE.  
MICHELOZZO, 1450  
PALAIS DE COSME DE  
MEDICIS, AUJOURD'HUI

# PALAIS RICCARDI

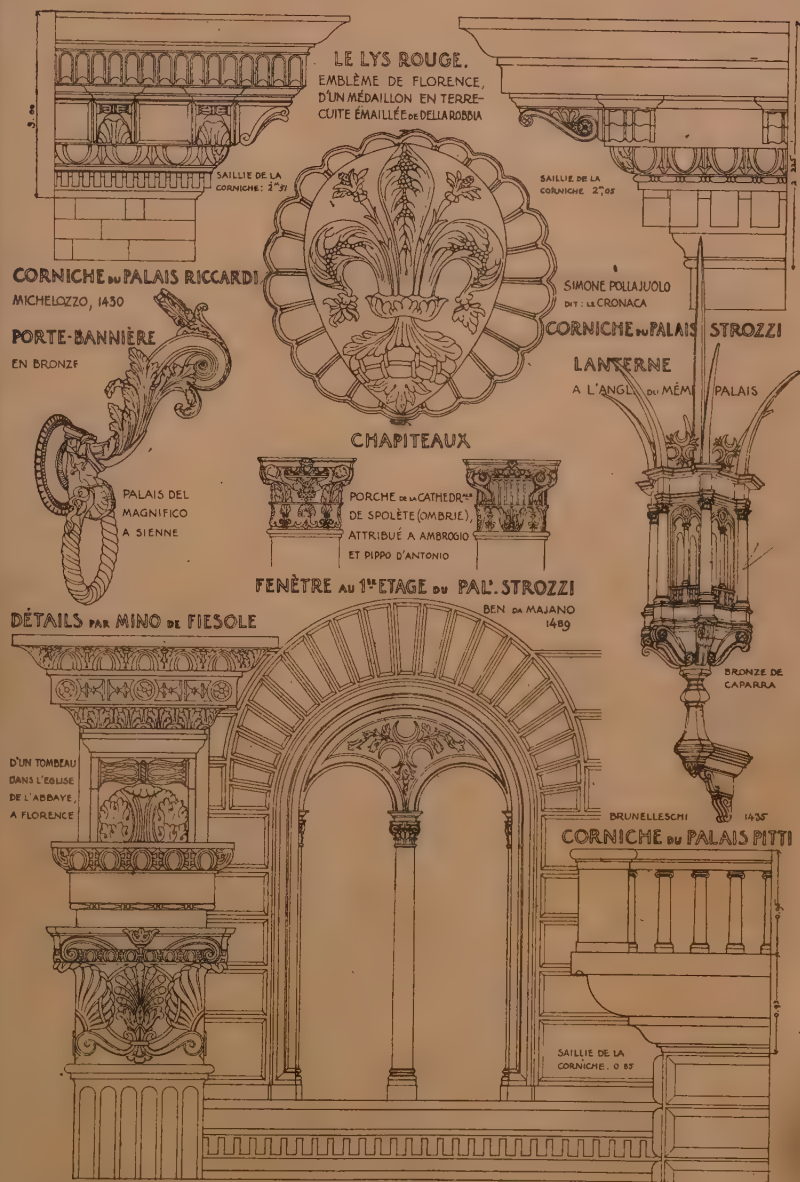
A DROITE:  
BENED. DA MAJANO &  
SIMONE POLLAIUOLO  
DIT LE CRONACA vers 1485

# PALAIS STROZZI





ITALIAN RENAISSANCE







S. CROCE, FLORENCE



*D'après un dessin de M. Louis Clerc, mort pour la France.*

PULPIT, BY BENEDETTO DA MAJANO



general submitted to the judgement of posterity: Some, in spite of everything, have, better luck than others. This is true as regards the Palazzo Strozzi (*Pl. 11*). Few edifices are more universally celebrated, and it represents, apparently pretty clearly, the developed type of florentine Palace. The plan of it is regular, the architecture characteristic, the detail finely studied, but it must not be forgotten that the Riccardi Palace belongs to some sixty years earlier and, comparing the two structures, it would not appear that the work of Benedetto da Majano (1442-1497), continued by Cronaca, shows a great improvement on its model. There is, without doubt, less frankness of expression. The rustication of the ground floor is more restrained. It retains plenty of projection, but that projection is the same for all the stones, and the basement loses in ruggedness and firmness by it. The arch has here been reserved for the entrance. This may, it is true, give unity to the composition, but there is also, on the other hand, a monotony about it which the big arches at the intervals do no longer dispel, like in the Riccardi. The admirable cornice of Cronaca itself (*Pl. 12*), inspired, it is said, by an antique fragment, and of which the proportion, like the detail, constitutes a piece of first rank, even though having doubtless more purity than Michelozzo's rough, crowning motive, does not form, perhaps, such a perfectly harmonious whole with the rest of the building. Such as it is, the Palace of Filippo Strozzi, begun in 1489 and only completed about 1553 (1), is no less a very attractive work, the perspective of which, viewed from certain angles, is quite impressive (2).

When we spoke, at the beginning of our study, of the disconcerting variety that is sometimes met with at this epoch, among the productions of a single artist, we might

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(1) The upper part of the cornice crowns even to-day only half of the Palace.

(2) The height which is greater by more than 20 feet than that of the Riccardi Palace, is not unconnected with this result.

have noted, before all else, the name of Benedetto da Majano. Let us leave the Strozzi Palace to enter Santa Croce and stop before its marble pulpit, the most beautiful in Italy (*Pl. 13*) a marvel of faultless workmanship as well as of masterly composition. We shall be astounded to learn that the same hand was capable of carving its delicate consoles, its graceful figures and of designing the vigorous courses which form the basement of the Palace.

Moreover, few enough works of this master, as an architect, are known. However, the agreeable little church of Santa Maria delle Grazie, situated some distance from Arezzo is attributed to him (*Pl. 14*). The columns of the porch in this case are perhaps a trifle short and the entablature supporting the archivolts too important (one sees that the Florentine architect wanted to preserve this element) but the whole results in a happy effect. This building dates from about 1490.

The Architect who finished the Strozzi Palace by crowning it with its beautiful and imposing cornice (1), Simone Pollajuolo, called *Il Cronaca* (1454-1509), had to study also the courtyard of this celebrated building. It presents a rather typical arrangement. The ground floor and the Second floor give on porticos, while the middle story projects as far as the face of the supports. The archivolts of the lower arches rest on free standing columns, as is almost always the practice in Florence, [while we shall find that the arches] in Roman courtyards come down on piers decorated with engaged columns or pilasters. The upper portico is formed of light supports bearing a lintel of wood on which rest the rafters of a slightly projecting roof.

This upper loggia, covered by the woodwork of the roof, is again to be found in the façade of some Florentine palaces, and, among, others, in the Guadagni Palace, so inte-

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(1) Sometimes called the « Golden Cornice ».





PORCH OF SANTA MARIA DELLE GRAZIE



FLORENCE



S. MARIA ANNUNZIATA



COLLEONE'S STATUE, VENICE





resting on account of its decoration (1) another work of the Cronaca (1490).

We shall further note this artist's very simple church of the convent of St. Francesco al Monte, on the hill of San Miniato, the character and beautiful proportion of which Michael Angelo justly appreciated.

We have been led to speak only now of Leo Battista Alberti (1404-1472). Logically he ranks beside Brunelleschi, for few artists have had such considerable influence on their generation as he, not so much perhaps because of the importance of the monuments to which he put his name or by the character so clearly classic of his productions, as because of the success of his written works — written in Latin — the ten books on the art of building : *De Re Ædificatoria*. Few men, let us say, have belonged so entirely to their epoch. This prodigiously cultured man, this distinguished humanist, is like Florence herself quite « the most brilliant product and the brightest mirror of his time and country » (2). Two of his most important works are churches at Rimini and Mantua; but Florence possesses the best known, the façade of Santa Maria Novella and the Ruccelai palace. The Ruccelai Palace, erected 1451-1455, less powerful architecturally than the buildings of Michelozzo and Brunelleschi, shows the greatest solicitude before all else, on the artists part, not to put in his work anything but Roman elements.

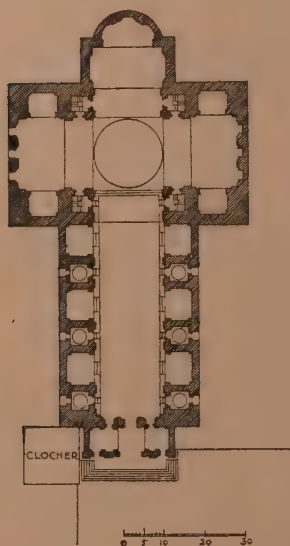
It is, doubtless, the first modern example comprising superimposed orders of pilasters. The façade, independently of its doorways, with architrave and consoles, still recalls by its voids Michelozzo's manner : the delicacy of the ornament, the slight projection of the mouldings, more adapted perhaps to a private dwelling, already anticipate Bramante

(1) It is an example of the local procedure which is called *Sgraffito*. A light-coloured thin layer of stucco is applied to a first coat of black or sepia: the effects, outlines, surfaces or hatchings are then obtained by scratching the upper coat revealing the dark stucco underneath.

(2) *Italy and Renaissance*, I, p. 66.

and the dawn of the Roman Renaissance. The façade for the church of Santa Maria Novella (*Pl. 16*) begun in 1456 shows the same qualities of taste and the respect for the marble architecture which had already been responsible for the dome, the Baptistry and campanile of Giotto at Florence. It seems that this composition presents for the first time the motive of large consoles joining, in front elevation, the nave to the aisles, which the Roman Sixteenth Century, and

later the imitators of Vignola, will use, and even abuse, with more or less success.



*Plan of Sant' Andrea at Mantua.*

The façade of the church of San Francesco at Rimini, the construction of which was entrusted to Alberti by Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta (1447-1455) is a work inspired more directly by the antique, much as the porch of San Andrea at Mantua where the use of the colossal order, borrowed from the Roman triumphal arch, already suggests, in spite of an archaic touch, Palladio's brilliant frontispieces (*Pl. 17*). The structure of Sant' Andrea is, also, very much in advance of the conception of the period; the plan, with small chapels covered by domes on penden-

tives dividing the motives of the nave, presents a typical disposition which will be taken up again, in a lighter manner, at San Salvatore of Venice (1533). Sant' Andrea, begun the year of Alberti's death, was not completed until 1512. The Mortuary Chapel of the Ruccelai family (1) (1467), the circular choir of the Annunziata (1470) are other works of the same artist in Florence. It is believed that Alberti only furnished the composition and plans for most of these build-

(1) At San Pancrazio.



S. MARIA NOVELLA



DETAIL OF PORCH





MANTUA



*Cliche Alinari*

FACADE OF S. ANDREA



ings, leaving to other architects the business of carrying out the work; that is what Raphael was to do later. With sure and enlightened taste and with admirable education to help him he was, above all, a master, a precursor of the generation that followed. More Roman than Brunelleschi, or at least nearer than he to his models in the composition of the whole, he gives evidence in every way, according to M. A. Maurel, of a rich revived, classic inspiration; he knows how to « renew old and pure traditions even when adding his own conceptions thereto, remaining original all the while » (1). His porch at Mantua, his façade at Rimini, of quite Roman amplitude, are of considerable significance, if one takes into account the epoch in which they were conceived. Already this innovator has the boldness of *arrangement* the sureness of taste which, fifty years later, we are to admire in San Micheli : he is really a *great* architect.

We have already spoken of Giuliano da Sangallo (1445-1516) in connection with the Pazzi Chapel and also we described his interesting church of the Madonna delle Carceri at Prato (1485). We have noticed how the clearness of the plan and the addition of the modest *drum* supporting the dome marked an already appreciable step in advance of Brunelleschi's small building. Still later Antonio the Elder, brother of Giuliano, and likewise uncle to the celebrated Sangallo (Antonio the Younger), was to give, we said, the final solution to this architectural problem in his church of Montepulciano. This interesting building (1518) already belonged by its date and construction to the Roman Sixteenth Century. Concerning Giuliano da Sangallo, the building of the Gondi Palace (1490) at Florence, which presents the typical disposition of Florentine residences, is attributed to him, and also the Antinori Palace (1480), the simple façade of which does not lack true dignity. It was at Rome that Giuliano spent the last years of his life working with Bramante, Fra Giocondo and Raphael on the

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(1) *Small towns of Italy*. Vol. II, p. 9.

construction of St. Peter's. This collaboration, which dates from 1513, does not seem to have brought luck to any of the four artists: Bramante, died in 1514, Fra Giocondo, in 1515, Giuliano da Sangallo, in 1516; and the great Raphael, though nearly forty years younger, survived him only four years. The Villa of Lorenzo the Magnificent, at Poggio a Cajano, was likewise built from Sangallo's plans.



*The Bartoloni palace.*

As, besides Raphael's two palaces (1), there exist in Florence but very few structures dating from the middle of the Renaissance, we will note again here to avoid useless divisions the name of Baccio d'Agnolo (1463-1543) whose most important work, the Bartoloni Palace, dates only from 1520.

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(1) The palaces Pandolfini and Uguccioni of which we shall speak later.



It is here, it seems, that the so-called *tabernacle* windows (that is to say windows with columns and pediment, copied from the little altars of the Pantheon), were first employed.

The Antinori Palace to which we have previously referred is sometimes attributed to Baccio d'Agnolo as well as the Serristori (1) and Ginori Palaces. The agreeable Campanile of San Spirito is certainly the work of this delicate artist, to whom we are likewise indebt for the choir stalls in Santa Maria Novella. The Cantoria, or singers gallery, executed by him for the same church, was given by Napoléon III to the church of Ruëil, near Paris.

In the following chapter we shall touch on what Northern Italy produced at the beginning of the Renaissance, particularly in Milan and Venice. Rome, at this period, was only just beginning to recover from the many ills she had suffered during the stay of the popes in Avignon. The population of the capital of the Roman world which had equaled that of Paris to-day, had fallen to less than twenty thousand inhabitants ! Beginning with Nicholas V (1447) every pope contributed more or less to the rebirth of the city from its ruins. The former protégé of Cosmo de Medici desired nothing more than to outrival his patron in reconstructing the Vatican quarter and creating a pontifical residence : but nothing remains of this period but a few unimportant buildings, if one does not include the Palazzo di Venezia erected by Francesco del Borgo di S. Sepolcro, for Cardinal Pietro Barbo, who was pope from 1464 to 1471, under the name of Paul II. This palace and the few churches which date from the pontificate of Sixtus IV have long been considered (2) the work of Baccio Pintelli the Florentine, the author of the charming courtyard of the ducal palace of Urbino, commenced by Laurana in 1468 and finished in 1482. Very scanty information exists as regards

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(1) Piazza Santa Crocé.

(2) For instance by Letarouilly.

the life and work of Pintelli, and to-day S. Agostino, S. Pietro in Montorio, the porches of the S. S. Apostoli and S. Pietro in Vincoli are attributed — with little certainty however — to Meo del Caprino (1430-1501). For the sake of the memory of Pintelli, who by the purity of his style was undoubtedly worthy of having been the forerunner of Bramante at Rome, let us hope that his collaboration on the

Palace at Urbino will not likewise be contested one day.

We should have finished the enumeration of the most celebrated edifices erected in Florence and in Tuscany under the influence of the Renaissance during the Quattrocento period, if the churches, full of tombs and decorative monuments of every description, the palaces, loggias and gardens peopled and enlivened with so many vases, fountains and statues, did not constantly remind us of the close union which then existed between sculpture and the art of building, and the very fact that so many artists devoted



Palazzo di Venezia, Rome.

themselves alike to either profession and often with equal success. Among those whose work as architects we have already noted, let us recall Benedetto da Majano and his

FLORENCE



*Cliché Brogi*

TOMB OF COUNT UGO IN THE BADIA CHURCH

ROME



*Cliché P. H.*

DOOR, VIA DEL GOVERNO VECCHIO



brother Giuliano (1). Bernardo Rossellino (1409-1464) who worked at Rome and Sienna, where his principal work appears to be the Piccolomini Palace (1460), and who collaborated at about the same time with Cecco di Giorgio (1439-1502) on the buildings at Pienza (2), is worthy of being classed with men of first rank, even if was only because of his admirable tomb in Santa Croce — that of Aretino (about 1445). The tomb which faces it, quite as remarkable, (that of Marzuppinì, Secretary of State, and his successor) is one of the finest productions of Desiderio da Settignano (1428-1464). But it must not be forgotten that the unquestioned mastery of this kind of commemorative monument belong to Mino da Fiesole (1431-1484) among other examples of which are the two tombs in the church of the *Badia* (Pl. 18) and that of the bishop Salutati at Fiesole.

A contemporary of his, Andrea del Verrocchio (1435-1488), only four years his junior, who was especially interested in painting and sculpture, is known by the simple and stirring mausoleum of Peter the first in the old Sacristy of San Lorenzo, by the charming David in the Bargello Museum, but above all by the equestrian statue of the condottiere Bartolomeo Colleone, one of the most popular monuments in popular Venice (Pl. 19 and 26).

Beside these artists in marble, how can we forget the three Della Robbias; first Luca (1399-1482), then Andrea (1437-1528) and Giovanni (1469-1529), his nephew and grand-nephew, those adepts of enamelled and painted terracotta, whose studios for three generations produced such a great number of small masterpieces which please at once by the beauty of their material, the charm and restraint of their composition, the cleverness of their execution, and

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(1) Vasari attributes the construction of the Palazzo di Venezia to Giuliano da Majano.

(2) The little town of *Corstignano* where Pope Pius II who gave it the name of Pienza was born, endowed it with numerous monuments and dreamed of reconstructing it on a new general plan.



lastly by the brilliance of their colour, even when limited to two tones: white for the figures and blue for the background (1). Among so many buildings to which they added the interest of their vivid decoration, the Hospice of Pistoja — L'Ospedale del Ceppo — is especially worthy of note (*Pl.* 19). Perhaps never, in a façade, have colour, relief of ornament and architectural lines blended in such a simple and harmonious whole. The architectural motive differs but slightly from Brunelleschi's two porticos, the Hospice Degli Innocenti and the Loggia of S. Paolo opposite Santa Maria Novella. The frieze of the Della Robbias (rather late indeed, as it admits a complete gamut of colouring) is divided into panels, each of which pictures one of the « Seven Works of Mercy ». Situated at the end of a public square of very modest dimensions, this little building is still in a state of almost perfect preservation. Time which has left the glaze on the terra cotta intact has embellished the columns, archivolts and string courses with a slight patina, and we have no doubt that anyone who has artistic appreciation, that is to say, anyone whose soul is sensitive, how ever little, has felt at first sight, when this monument was revealed to him at the turning of a lonely street, one of those fugitive emotions which permit man to feel himself a better being for having appreciated at its true value, be it but for a moment, the charm of « useless » beauty (2).

It is precisely this charm to which we have previously alluded which seems to be the characteristic of the work of Donatello, that marvellous artist who preceded all these men we have named, but whom we have wished to note

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(1) The white and blue enamels are the oldest.

(2) Note should be made here, although they belong to the beginning of the following century, of the remarkable sculptures of Lorenzo di Mariano or *Marinna* at Siena (1476-1534) and in particular the very beautiful decorative arrangement which serves as entrance to the Piccolomini Library in the Cathedral.

PISTOIA



OSPEDALE DEL CEPPO



last in order to give him the importance that is his due, so perfectly does he sum up in himself the art and sculpture of his time. We have related previously how at the age of seventeen he accompanied Brunelleschi on the latter's journey to Rome. From day to day, his taste became more refined by the patient study of antique remains and perhaps in the case of no other artist did this study produce such fruitful results. It might be said that Donatello knew how to gather from ancient art all it was able to give up of its secrets to a man of his generation. Independent of his qualities of workmanship and of his conscientiousness and constant and passionate study of nature, he was the first to understand why Greek Art refused to freeze for ever, in motionless attitudes, the pose that a model or an athlete could not maintain for very long. He knew too, when necessary, to limit himself to positions of *equilibrium*, but while the ancients prudently held back from that point at which it is no longer possible to be directly inspired by nature without falling into vulgar realism, Donatello, perhaps still more in love with the human form, with movement, with life, seems often to have taken pleasure in playing with this danger, although always knowing in a wondrous way how to discern the precise point at which a work of art is losing balance and charm and is becoming banal or too familiar. Let us look at his bust of Niccola da Uzzano (1): it has such an intensity of life that one is tempted to bow to this terra cotta head, in a friendly way as one walks by, as one would to a contemporary; the artist was not afraid to heighten the beauty of his work with absolutely natural colours. The least clumsiness of touch would risk making so « living » a portrait a coloured wax-work, but the touch and sureness of execution are such that one is astounded at the result. Better than anyone else, Donatello gives the impression of loving to an equal degree the marble he is animating and the model from which he gets his inspiration. He knows how to render them attractive to

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(1) At the Bargello, or National Museum.

us. Each of his productions bears this stamp of mastery and truth. His work is nature herself and yet there is an abyss between nature and his work. The earliest of modern sculptors, we are not afraid to say that at times he almost equals the antique, and he himself will probably not be equalled (1).

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The most important works of Donatello are: The equestrian statue of Gattamelata at Padua (1453), the group of Judith and Holophernes under the Loggia dei Lanzi, the David and the St. George (1416) of the National Museum, the St. Peter and St. Mark of Or' San Michele (the latter dating from 1453 and very much admired by Michael Angelo. « Marco », said he to him « *perche non mi parli* »? (Why do you not speak to me?) The high altar of San Antonio of Padua, the outdoor pulpit of Prato, a cantoria in the Duomo Museum, and finally a beautiful « Christ » in Santa-Croce, the result of a friendly competition with Brunelleschi (whose work is in Santa Maria Novella).





MILAN



CLAUSTRAL BUILDINGS NEAR S. AMBROGIO



S. MARIA DELLE GRAZIE

*Cliché P. H.*

## CHAPTER III

### THE EARLY RENAISSANCE IN NORTHERN ITALY

FLORENTINES AND VENITIANS. — WORKS OF BRAMANTE'S YOUTH. — THE CERTOSA OF PAVIA. — LOGGIAS AT BRESCIA, VERONA AND PADUA. — THE WORK OF THE LOMBARDI AT VENICE.

We have seen that the *Quattrocento* Rome, which was recovering with difficulty from ten centuries of invasions, calamities and also complete abandon, reaped but slight benefit from the progress of Florentine art. It is interesting to note that the city in Upper Italy where the early Renaissance was to find the centre of its most brilliant manifestations, that Venice, herself, felt but a very tardy influence and in a way as a reaction.

It must not be forgotten that if Florence seemed to reach the zenith of her artistic reign under the impetus of Cosmo de Medici and Lorenzo the Magnificent, Venice, at the same period, is not far from enjoying a like prosperity from at least a commercial and political point of view. But, dissimilar by reason of their past, their aspirations, their alliances, jealous of one another without seeming to have any greater esteem thereby, the Venitians and Florentines did not cease disturbing the whole of Italy with the clamour of their rivalries, wars or troublesome negotiations. Founded in the beginning of the Middle Ages by colonists who were seeking on the islands of the Lagoon a refuge against great invasions, Venice was not able, like Florence, heir to Etruscan civilization, to become impassioned over the ruins or memories of the Roman world. Welcoming Florentine exiles for political reasons rather than from sympathy, and possessing moreover, architecture quite her own, it may

began his career as a painter and studied, it is said, under Andrea Mantegna (1).

We have always been badly informed as regards his early days and the work in what might be called his first manner; but, as soon as it was determined that the great architect had migrated to Lombardy during the last twenty five years of the Fifteenth century, no opportunity was lost of attributing to him everywhere, without great semblance of reason, monuments of any interest, which seemed to be more or less typical of his style. People have become more prudent nowadays. Bramante in Lombardy shared the same fate as Pintelli in Rome, and one readily admits that at this period his collaboration is not absolutely known for certain, except in the case of a rather limited number of productions.

His earliest work seems to have been the Church of Santa Maria presso San Satiro, dating from 1474. A rather simple, small building situated not far from the Duomo of Milan, the interior of which presents the peculiarity of an apse only, constituted by a perspective in low relief. The octagonal sacristy of this church (*Pl. 21*) erected later in 1498, is a work in which one feels the artist better in full command of his talent (2).

It is thought that, in 1477, he built the church of Abbiategrasso (3), the porch of which is extremely light and rests on superimposed columns. We shall find him at Milan in 1490, working perhaps with Dolcebuono on Santa Maria, near San Celso, completing the cupola and the apse of Santa Maria della Grazie (1492) constructing the monastic buildings a part for which is still to be seen at the left of the old basilica of San Ambrogio (*Pl. 20*). The choir of Santa Maria della Grazie reminds one, in section, of the disposition of the Pazzi Chapel. What seemed to have pleased

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(1) Andrea Mantegna of Padua (1431-1506) who was Lorenzo Costa's predecessor at the court of Gonzagas at Mantua. He may have known Alberti there when he was building the church of Sant' Andrea.

(2) This room is ornamented by a beautiful frieze by Caradosso.

(3) About thirty kilometers south west of Milan.



*Cliché Altnerl*

DÉTAIL, SACRISTY OF S. SATIRO



COMO CATHEDRAL — SIDE ENTRANCE





Bramante in this scheme is the use of pilasters spaced in pairs and grouped in the manner of Roman Triumphal arches: in most of his work we shall find an echo of this favourite motive<sup>(1)</sup>. Santa Maria di Canepanova at Pavia, another small octagonal building of the same year (1492), is also Bramante's.

One has ceased, on the otherhand, to consider as his work the façade of Santa Maria dei Miracoli at Brescia, the porch of which is quite the best justification of what was said a moment ago. Never was more delicate decoration applied to a less fortunate composition; Bramante's memory will not likely suffer because of it.

Such is not the case regarding the choir and apse of the Cathedral of Como, a work of charming proportions which furnishes us, perhaps, with the only interesting document of this period as regards the side façade and apse of a large church. The effort was too often limited to the main elevation and we possess very few buildings, such as the domes of Pisa and Florence, which one may walk completely around without ceasing for a moment to be interested. This beautiful composition which dates from 1486 is nowadays attributed to Tomaso Rodari. But the south doorway of the building (*Pl.* 21) surely appears to be the work of Bramante (1491). One finds there the pilasters disposed according to his usual manner and crowned with concentric archivolts. The detail is of great purity.

Other monuments have long been considered to have been executed from this great architect's plans; Among those which possibly merit this honour, we may note the porch built, in 1491, at Spoleto in front of the cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta. It is a portico with five bays, flanked at both ends with narrower motives framing an outdoor pulpit. The careful study and good composition, the rather slender proportion, and certain details of decoration (*Pl.* 12) have made it possible to give this porch the name « Bra-

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(1) This alternation is what is known as the *rythmic bay* which we shall have occasion to mention again.

mante's Porch » without seeming improbability. However, nowadays, it is agreed to consider it the work of Ambrogio and Pippo d'Antonio.

Such are the buildings attributed to Bramante's early years. Like Brunelleschi, his stay at Rome and his study on the spot of antique remains profoundly modified the direction of his talent. Like him a decorator, he willingly forgot that fact and the merit of his work was, from now on, achieved chiefly by its proportion, ornament playing quite



*Porch of Spoleto cathedral.*

an unimportant part. He dominates the Roman Sixteenth Century as Brunelleschi did the Quattrocento in Florence, but he has this advantage over his predecessor, that he came almost a century later and signed his name as architect to the greatest work of modern times St. Peter's.

About twenty kilometers south of Milan, and not far from the place where the famous battle of Pavia was fought, the

THE CERTOZA, NEAR PAVIA



MAIN ENTRANCE

*Cliche H. J*





THE CERTOSA, PAVIA



FAÇADE OF THE CHURCH



Certosa, founded in 1396 by Giovanni Galeasso Visconti, is still standing in a remarkable state of preservation. The first artists to study and reflect in their work the elements of this vast « ensemble » were very likely Bernardo of Venice, Giacomo di Campioni, Cristoforo di Beltramo, but the influence of the Renaissance did not begin to be felt except in the detail of the two cloisters, the rich terra-cotta decoration of which (1463-1478) is the work of Rinaldo di Stauris. The marble façade of the Church (*Pl.* 23) the building of which was commenced in 1491 (1) and which has always passed as one of the masterpieces of the Early Renaissance is attributed to Guiniforte Solari. The multiplicity of the elements and the lack of unity resulting from the absence of any predominant motive, in this case, render the composition particularly undecided in spite of the care taken to recall, in their great lines, the elevations of the Lombard-Roman churches of the region; but, as soon as one draws near enough to this façade to distinguish its detail and ornamentation, its seductiveness at once becomes so great that one easily forgets the mental reservations one might at first have made. The design is so thoroughly studied, the workmanship is so marvellously able, that it arrives at a conciliation of the purest delicacy with the most prodigious sumptuousness (2). The beautiful windows of the lower floors, especially the basement (*Pl.* 25), the work of Giov. Ant. Amadeo and Crist. Mantegazza, with its niches, its garlands, its frieze of medallions on which appear the profiles of Roman Caesars, are morsels of inestimable quality inspired by a touching admiration of antique art. It is the very soul of the Early Renaissance.

We shall find this spirit again at Brescia and Verona. If these two proud cities each possessed no other artistic

(1) Begun in 1473, according to some authorities.

(2) « We owe this monument to the ambition of the Sforzas, by the magnificence of which, for five centuries, people have been intoxicated and renewed their aesthetic inspiration. What prodigality and what discretion — it is all in perfect taste; a blending of two contradictions finally reconciled to each other. » (*Small Towns of Italy*, vol. II.)

memory than their Loggia Municipale, they would be worthy of a lengthy visit; these two buildings alone would be sufficient to make them illustrious. Like most structures of their type, the « Municipio » of Brescia provides for a vaulted loggia on the ground floor, opening freely on the large square, and with a meeting hall on the first floor (*Pl.* 24). We have said previously that this edifice may be counted as one of the purest productions of the fifteenth century in Northern Italy; its first architect was Formentone. He began his work about 1489 and it was evidently he who established all the lower order. The great architect-sculptor Jacopo Tatti (1486-1570), better known by the name of *Sansovino*, was entrusted, subsequently, with the continuation of the work. Finally Palladio, himself, studied some portion of it. One easily recognizes the architect of the Libreria Vecchia (*Pl.* 58) by the admirable friezes which embellish the windows of the main entablature. One distinguishes less easily the imprint of Palladio. But the versatility of the latter's talent made it possible for him easily to modify his method. The work is certainly not unworthy of him.

Composition, proportion, study and execution of the decorative elements, all contributed in this case to the effect of the whole, a result which the productions of this epoch very rarely attained. The sculpture is of the richest, but the spaces of plain wall, which give it its value, avoid all effect of profusion. The whole has charm and the detail is precious without the building losing anything of its nobility which is accentuated by the large dimensions of the motives. The arcades of the loggia have a roman spaciousness. Later, at the zenith of the Renaissance, certain arches of the Grimani Palace (*Pl.* 52) will allow us to detect an inspiration springing from the same sources. It is a work of perfect harmony (1).

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(1) This remarkable monument was disfigured after a fire by the addition of an octagonal attic, itself unfinished. The Municipality is busying itself, it appears, with a scheme of restoration which will suppress this cumbersome element and re-establish the great primitive roof analagous to that of the Basilica of Vicenza and the Ragione Palace at Padua.

BRESCIA

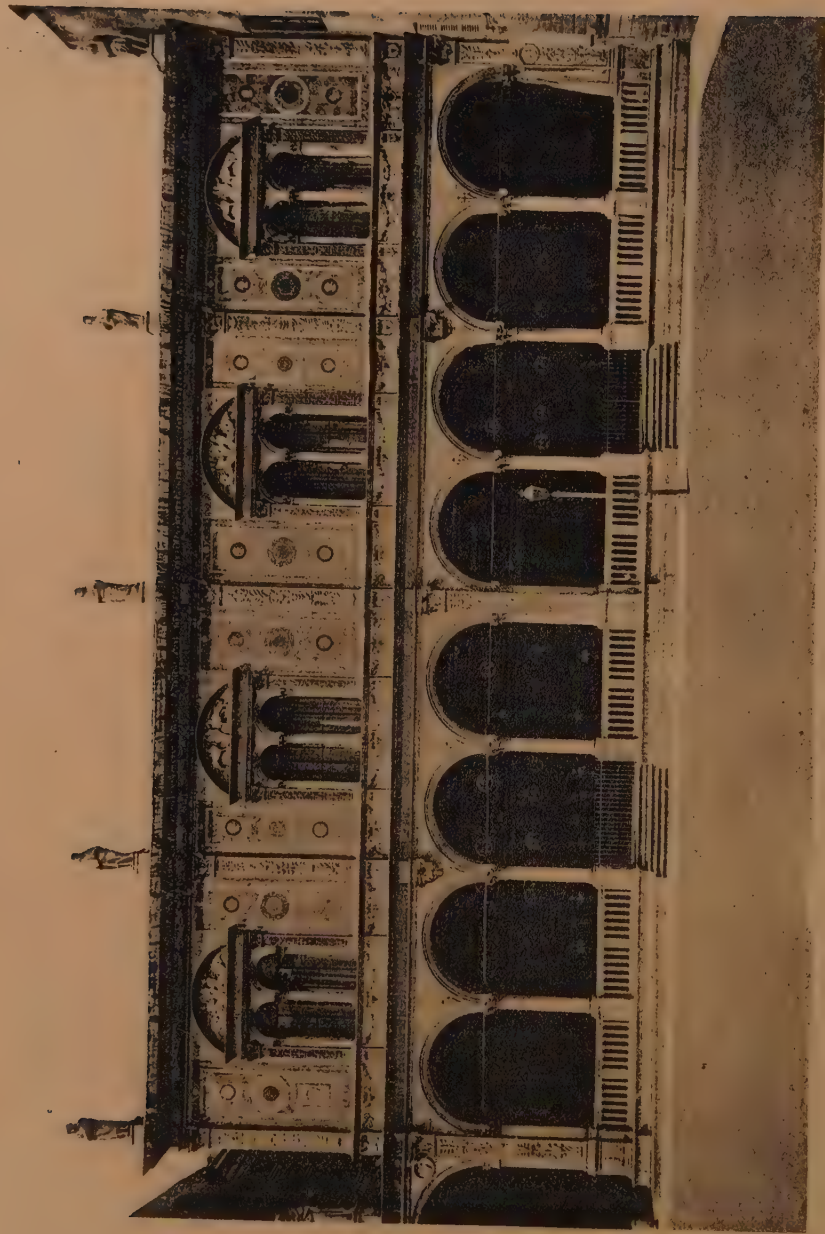


MUNICIPAL LOGGIA  
FROM M. E. A. TITCOMB'S MEASURED DRAWING





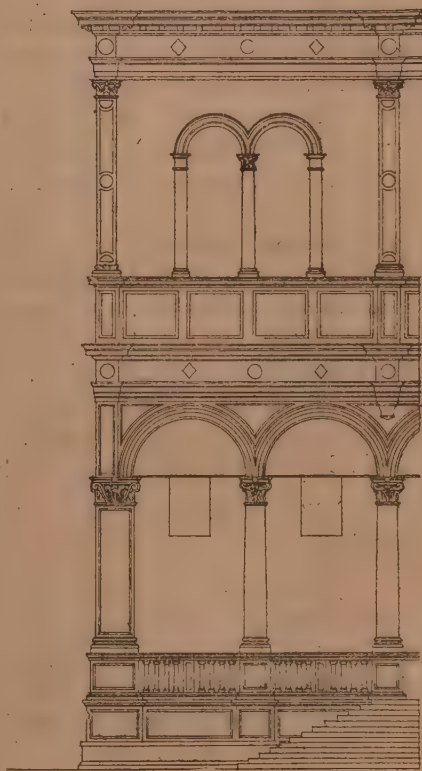




LOGGIA DEL CONSIGLIO

The Loggia del Consiglio at Verona (1476) is a gem of almost equal merit (*Pl. 25*). Conceived on a less extensive plan, admirably suited, however, to the modest proportions of the Piazza dei Signori, this building likewise provides for a loggia raised on five steps, with a ceiling, a thing which is rather exceptional, and on the floor above, beautiful rooms

lit by coupled windows. Here the inspiration seems more directly florentine than at Brescia. There is perhaps more freedom, more fancifulness in the composition and that leads to weakness in the arrangement of certain pieces. The whole is, nevertheless, unquestionably seductive and this agreeable little building remains one of the greatest attractions of a city rich in marvels. The architect was Fra Giovanni Giocondo who was born at Verona about 1453, and died at Rome in 1515, as we have had occasion to note when speaking of his collabora-



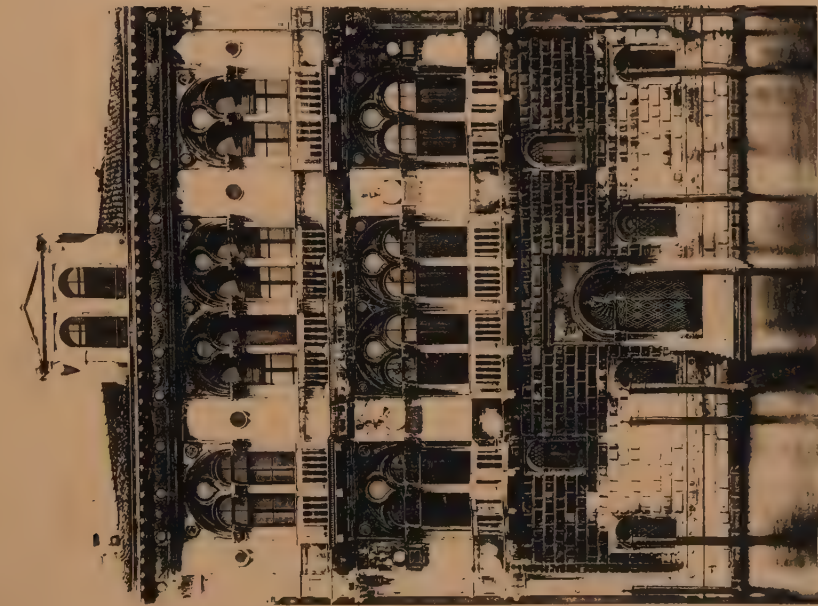
*Loggia municipale, Padua*

tion with Giuliano da Sangallo on the work of the Basilica of S. Peter's. It is interesting to recall that this great artist was one of those whom Charles VIII called to France on returning from the Italian Wars, and made a member of that colony at Amboise which began to adapt to the condi-

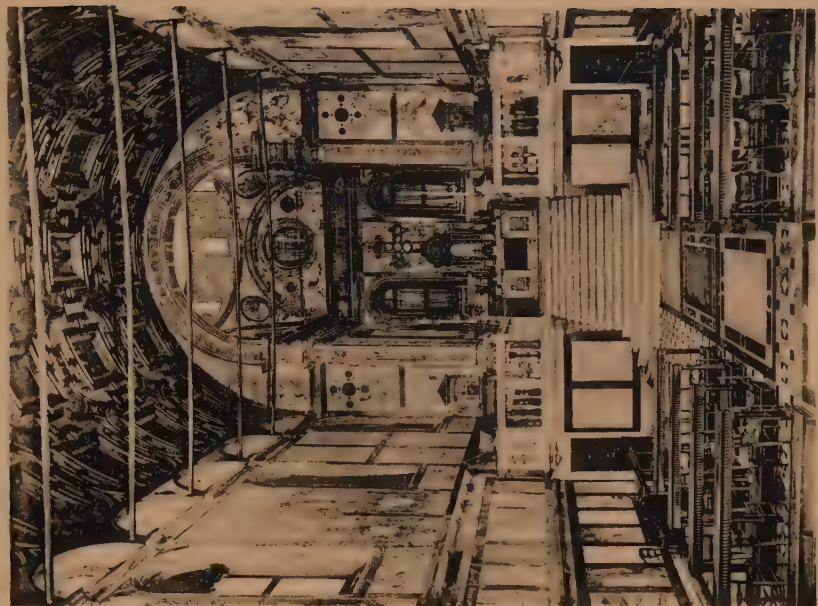




VENICE



PALAZZO CORNER-SPINELLI



*Clithés Allnart*

INTERIOR OF S. MARIA DEI MIRACOLI



is always the same ground floor with but few openings, the same large porch on the axis, and the same two stories of round headed windows in which the three central bays are grouped to form a motive. The cornice which dominates the upper order is meant to crown the whole, while remaining in harmony with the elements of the storey to which it belongs: a problem which presents very few perfect solutions and of which the Library of Sansovino offers the most pleasing example (*Pl.* 58).

The Church of San Zaccaria, begun in 1457, marks another transition from the Gothic period to the first attempts of the Renaissance. The façade is of a style more marked, but it dates only from 1514. This composition, crowned by a rather elevated circular pediment, which we shall find in a number of Venetian buildings of the same epoch, belongs to Martino Lombardo. To speak of the productions of the Early Renaissance at Venice is equivalent to reviewing the family history of the Lombardi (1).

The work of Bartolomeo Buon the Elder, and his father Giovanni, such as the façade of the Ducal Palace facing the Piazzetta, as yet show but feeble traces of the new spirit (2). And if his son Bartolomeo Buon the Younger began to build the *Procuratie Vecchie* north of the main square in 1496, it was in collaboration with Pietro Lombardo, the most brilliant member of that family, whose works known throughout the world are the only ones to which we shall give our attention for the present.

Pietro Lombardo's most seductive and most complete piece of work is doubtless the small church of Santa Maria dei Miracoli (1481-1489). The elevations are agreeable, especially the one of the apse, so picturesque with its miniature cupola flanked by the stairway which gives access to it. But one knows beforehand that it is not in the exterior that the real interest of this charming building must be

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(1) This name like that of many Renaissance artists alludes to the birth-place, the Lombardi being natives of Carona, above Melide on Lake of Lugano.

(2) It was still being worked upon in 1443.

sought for. One hastens to enter, but hardly has one crossed the threshold than one is struck by the charm of the *ensemble* which seems to realize, better than certain works of which we have previously spoken, like the Certosa or the Loggia of Brescia, that reconciliation of the delicate with the sumptuous, of great intimacy with great distinction (*Pl.* 27). We shall not speak of the detail of the ornamental sculpture, which rivals the best of the period. Entirely faced with precious marble and covered by a small wooden vault this large chapel, after an inset flight of thirteen steps with balustrades and ambos on each side (1), opens through a triumphal arch on pilasters into a square apse, in the spirit of Bramante's early work.

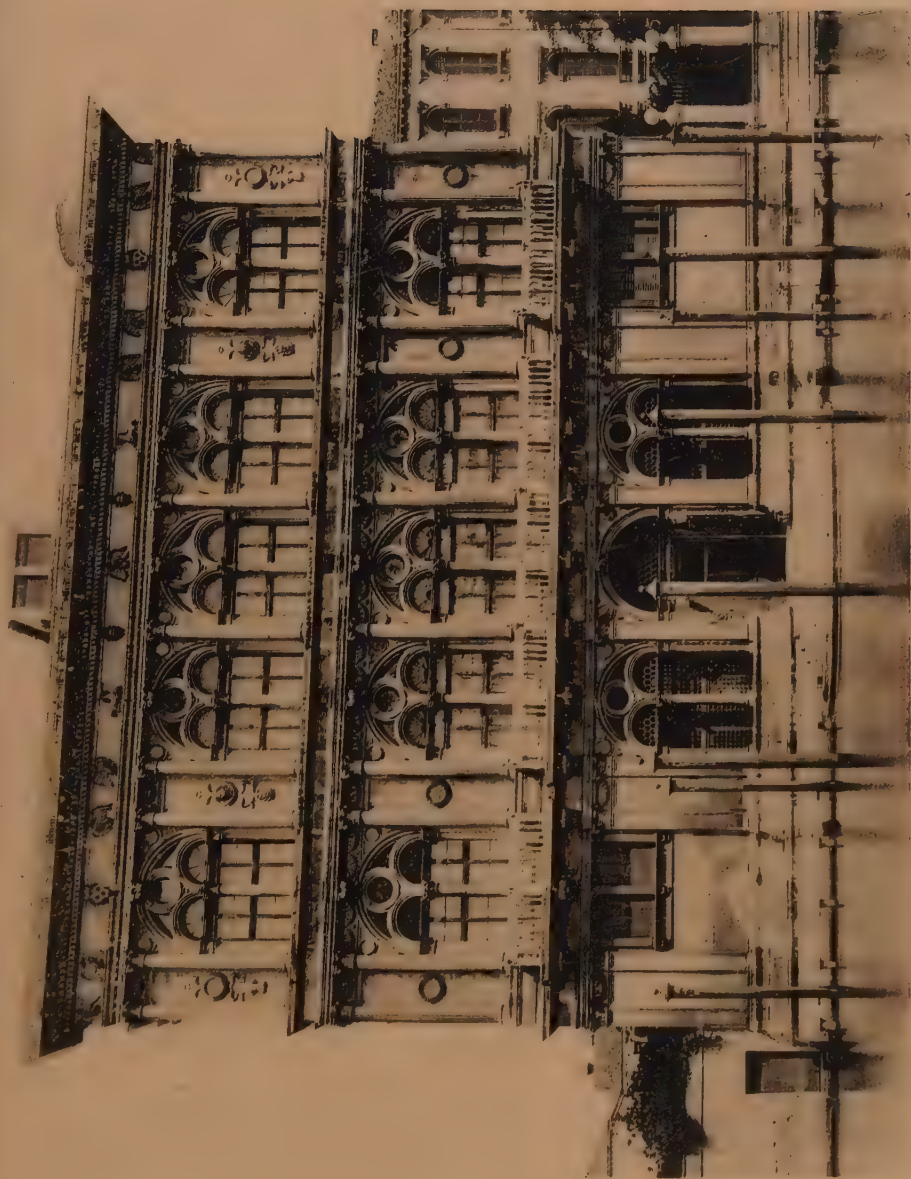
This building, so remarkable in every way, is perhaps not the most popular work of Pietro Lombardo. The celebrated palace of the Vendramin Calergi family (1481) (2) situated on the banks of the Grand Canal of Venice, the aspect of which is so familiar to all eyes, is probably, for this latter reason, a very much better known monument (*Pl.* 28). For the first time the programme of a great patrician habitation is thought out thoroughly and decidedly, in a style which admits the use of Roman elements; the three stories of orders of a beautiful purity of detail frame, in arcades of classical proportions, elegant coupled windows the arches of which repose on a central colonnette; a motive which is found in the façade of another contemporary structure—the Corner Spinelli Palace (1480), but treated in this case in a less modern spirit which shows its gothic origin (*Pl.* 28). It is a curious thing that if one takes into consideration only the decorative *parti*, these are the same windows which we saw at Florence in the Riccardi or Strozzi palaces (*Pl.* 11). Widely spaced in their vigorous walls, they make one think of loopholes in a fortress. In the midst of the lightness of Vene-

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(1) In primitive basilicas, the two small slightly elevated pulpits for the reading of the epistles and gospels were thus called.

(2) Which belonged once to the Duchess de Berry, and where Richard Wagner died.





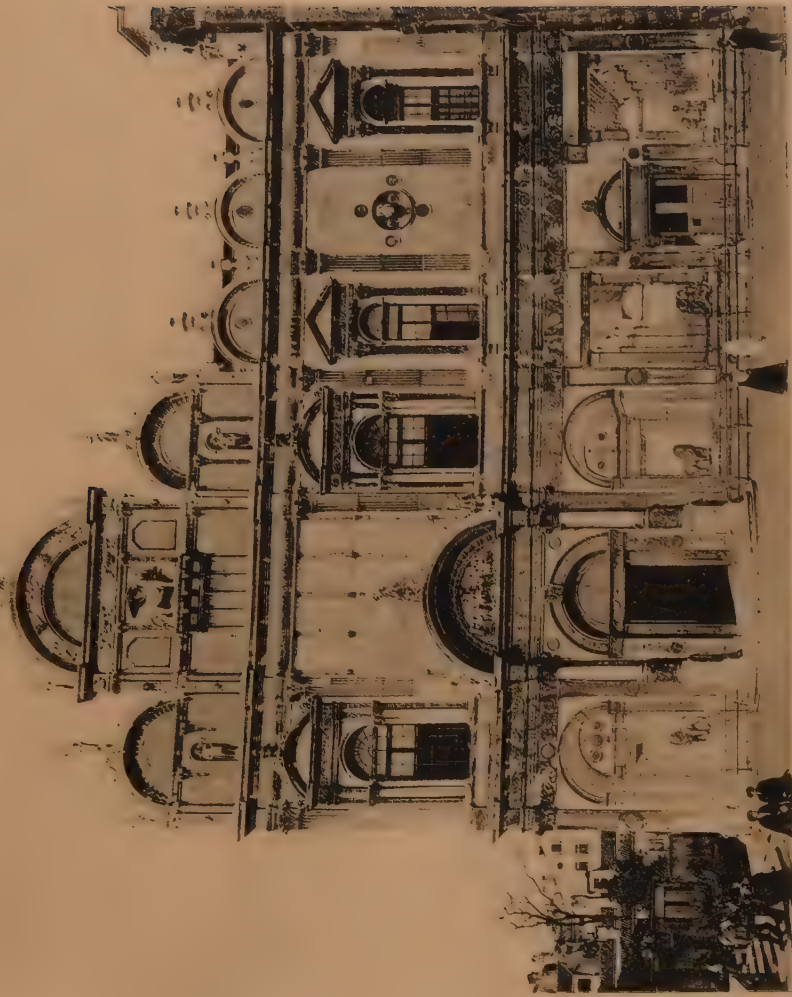
THE VENDRAMINI PALACE

*Cliche Altart*





VENICE



*Cliché Altinat*

SCUOLA DI S. MARCO, PIAZZA S. S. GIOVANNI E PAOLO



tian architecture, they recall only church windows. In the Corner Spinelli Palace, the small circular opening of the tracery which occurs above the colonnette is, moreover, replaced by a long one in the form of a leaf (or a flame) which only marks still clearer the memory of the style which is called « flamboyant » (1).

As regards the Scuola di San Marco (*Pl.* 29) that brilliant marble façade in front of which stands the statue of Colleone, the progress does not seem really appreciable, although this building, attributed to Martino Lombardo, is several years later than the preceding (1485). Nothing could be more Venetian in the sense that a composition already several centuries old seems to have been decorated with very classic mouldings, and one must examine it very closely to admit it as a work of the end of the Fifteenth Century. The beautiful portal is not unlike one of the doors of the Cathedral of Como, and the panels in perspective produce with their bases an optical illusion, incidentally quite uncalled for, which make us think of that other rather naive deception : the choir in *bas relief* executed by Bramante at San Satiro at Milan.

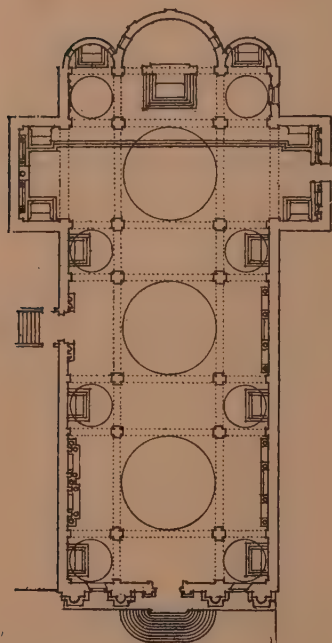
The *Scuola di San Rocco* built some thirty years later by Pietro Lombardo and Ant. Scarpagnino (1517) shows evidence of belonging to a more advanced period, and one which would certainly not fear innovations. The detail is precious, but the scheme is really lacking purity, even when one decides beforehand to show oneself quite eclectic and not to reproach the artist for the use of any means that make his work produce powerful impression from the start. How justify the use of superimposed freestanding columns to form projections which serve to support nothing whatever, the coupled window pediments resting on three columns, of which one is necessarily on the axis? We are far from the charming coupled bays of the Loggia del Consiglio at Ve-

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(1) This small structure which deserves mention because of its rusticated basement (in which Mr. Anderson sees another reversion to florentine architecture) has been attributed to Lombardi, but this is not certain.

rona, in which Fra Giocondo had a similar problem to solve. These reservations once made, it is only just to add that this façade, brilliant enough, lacks neither abundance, nor movement, nor unexpectedness.

To Guglielmo Bergamasco (1) is attributed the pretty five



*Plan of San Salvatore, Venice.*

bayed order which is to be found in an angle of the courtyard of the Ducal Palace at the side of St. Mark's and behind the Giants Stairway (*Pl. 30*). The beautiful windows of the first floor (1520), the coloured marble medallions which separate them, seem to classify that composition as the work of the Lombardi, as also the elevation of the Contarini delle Figure Palace (1504) in which the spirit of the same motives is reproduced almost textually. But the latter palace was not finished until much later and nothing definite is known as regards the name of its author.

Finally, the Church of San Salvatore was begun in 1530 after the plans of Tullio Lombardo. We had occasion when

speaking of Alberti's works to note the similarity that exists between the scheme of construction of this building and that of San Andrea of Mantua; it is seen thus that it is a peculiarity of plan which brings us to speak of the last Venetian monument which may be classed as Early Renaissance.

(1) It is this artist who erected in 1530 the little Capella Aemiliana on the island of the cemetery at Venice, San Michele, half way from Murano.





WINDOW IN THE COURT OF THE DOGE'S PALACE



PILASTER CAPITAL (SAME COURTYARD)



The fact is significant. At the great period of Florentine architecture the plans, indeed, always played a more or less important part; sometimes on them alone depended the merit of the composition. In Lombardia, the artists limited themselves to disguising ancient types under the mask of a great blooming of Tuscan art, and it is natural that under these conditions the plans of new work could not have a very marked character. At Venice, where the construction was made light because of the nature of the soil, and where one built as best one could, the façade had never been considered until then as anything but a pleasant decoration. It was not the decorative style, passing from the gothic to the florentine, that could have modified the effects of this method considerably. It was otherwise a little later. The dawn of the Sixteenth Century ushers in, as far as the Roman Renaissance is concerned, the short period which marks the zenith of its evolution. The architecture of Bramante, Peruzzi and Sangallo, born of Florentine art, scorns, if need be, the wealth of decoration to give greater value to essential qualities. And this is pre-eminently the period of plans, because the first consideration as regard composition and study is that of unity, proportion and character.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE ROMAN RENAISSANCE

LEO X AND JULIUS II. — THE CHANCELLERY AND THE VATICAN OF BRAMANTE. — RAPHAEL. — PERUZZI AND THE MASSIMI PALACE. — SANGALLO, THE FARNESE PALACE. — MICHAEL ANGELO.

The century which, at Rome, constitutes the acme of the Renaissance, is called historically the century of Leo X. In this respect, as in several others, and despite his premature death (1). Giovanni di Medici, cardinal at 13 and pope at less than 38 years of age had, taking it all in all, a happy fate. It is only just to do homage to the ardour with which he favoured the development of the fine arts as well as letters and science to the utmost of his ability: but in this, he was only carrying on the great traditions created in his family by his father Lorenzo the Magnificent, and his grand-father, Cosimo — the « father of his country » — and had nothing else to do but to carry out the unfinished work of his predecessor, the man of vast schemes who, on the pontifical throne was certainly the great figure of the century: the ardent and energetic Julius II.

A nephew of Sixtus IV, and a cardinal with the see San Pietro in Vincoli, Giuliano della Rovere was born near Savona in 1441. Raised to the pontificate at the death of Alexander Borgia (2) at a moment when it was indispensable to place at the head of the Church a man who was a *character*, it cannot be denied that he was passionately devoted to every duty

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(1) He died in 1521, at the age of 46.

(2) In 1503. The immediate successor of Alexander VI was Pius III Piccolomini who died in a month.

of his calling, indefatigable at over sixty years of age, nor that, in spite of grave political faults, he commanded respect even to his enemies, by his energy and audacity as much as by the dignity of his life. He has been accused of having sometimes lacked a sense of consistency in his haste to be endlessly planning new enterprises, of not having remained faithful to his alliances, and lastly perhaps of having, by his appeal abroad (1) precipitated the downfall of Italian independence. One may reply that from an artistic point of view, we have lost little by it, as other pontiffs took care to complete the construction of Saint Peter's, and that among the works actually left in plan, his tomb, for instance, has still provided us with pieces such as the *Moses* or the *Captives* (2).

As regards politics, it is really too easy to rewrite-history, attributing to the men of the Renaissance the ideas or knowledge which we possess nowadays; we have said that there never was any Italian architecture chiefly because, at that period, there was no such thing as Italy. The unity, perhaps dreamed of by Cesare Borgia (3) could have hardly indeed been anything but a *dream*, amidst so many small rival powers swayed by such different interests. In the last years of his life, Julius II understood very well the mistake he had made in forming the League of Cambrai; but he died

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(1) After having formed the so-called League of Cambrai (1508) with Louis XII, Ferdinand the Catholic and the emperor Maximilian against Venice, five years later, he was to ally himself with Venice, the Emperor, England and Spain to fight the King of France against whom he had a grudge. That is what has been called the *Holy Alliance*.

(2) Michael Angelo's slaves in chains, of which two are in the Louvre and four others, unfinished, in the grotto of the Boboli Garden in Florence.

(3) Cesare, the natural son of Alexander and Vanozza, is one of the most striking personalities of those troubled times. Possessed of an ambition which knew no scruple, but of uncommon bravery and ability as well, he was made a cardinal the year his father acceded to the papacy (1492). He soon renounced this title to follow a warrior's career, and was sent on a mission to Louis XII, who created him Duke of Valentinois. On his return to Italy, he undertook the conquest of Romagna against the feudatories of the Holy See who had there become independent. Duke of Romagna, in 1501, he thought of making himself master of Tuscany, and it is difficult to predict how great his success would have been, except for the premature death of his father in 1503.



without having been able, as he said, to drive the *barbarians* out of Italy. While fulfilling his obligations as temporal prince more or less well, did he, on the other hand, act contrary to the moral standards of his epoch? His celebrated contemporary, Nicholas Machiavelli, whose rude and outspoken honesty is no longer denied these days, undertakes to reassure us on this point in a very exhaustive manner (1).

For us who need hardly preoccupy ourselves with the question, the glory of Julius II consists in his having known first, how to appreciate, and then, how to keep near him, by occupying them with his gigantic projects, the greatest painter, the greatest sculptor and the greatest architect of his time, a formidable trinity which one can justly be amazed to find united to beautify one single palace: Raphael, Michael Angelo and Bramante. The pontiff devined the mastery of these men, and, with his prodigious activity, found tasks fit for them. Whether it is a question of decorating his *Stanze*, completing the Sistine Chapel, erecting his own monument, or building Saint Peter's and a new Vatican, each of these programmes gave the artist the opportunity of realizing the masterpiece which would most surely render him immortal. « He exalted each of his enterprises to the height of his own genius. To carry them out, he found a new generation of artists, and knew how to distinguish the tallest heads, those which were made to breathe like him an « epic atmosphere » (2).

The refined Epicurian who succeeded him, even though solicitous to have the honour of carrying on certain of his

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(1) « Everyone understands, » says he, how praiseworthy it is, for a prince, to keep faith, to act honestly and not by trickery; but the experience of our time shows us that only those princes who broke their word, who knew how to deceive others cleverly, who in short, were able to overcome those who had trusted their loyalty, achieved anything great. » Further on he adds, « Of all recent instances, I do not want to forget one: Alexander VI did nothing but deceive. He never thought of doing anything else, and always found an opportunity. No man has ever known how to make promises so coolly, nor to take more oaths than he, without keeping a single one of them. But however, trickery always succeeded with him because he knew his men so well... » (*The Prince*, chap. XVIII.)

(2) Emile Bertaux, Rome, vol. III.

works, was really a pope of less breadth of view. « Godiamoci del papato, perche Dio l'ha dato... Let us enjoy the papacy, if God has given it us! » The man who so announced his election to the Medici of Florence was not afraid to show in one single line — which doubtless was not meant for posterity — the measure of his voluptuous scepticism. He had the rare good fortune to reach the papacy at an age at which he could *enjoy* it effectively, and at the most opportune moment : ten years earlier, he would have had to show his ability in establishing the prestige of the Holy See; later, he would have doubtless found himself in the toils of the cruel trouble which darkened the reign of Cardinal Giulio, his cousin (1).

The moment was a propitious one. « His Holiness Pope Leo », said Machiavelli, « has found the pontificate very powerful. Let us hope that as Alexander and Julius have exalted it by arms, he will make it still greater by his goodness and a thousand other virtues » (2).

He possessed rather the benevolence, the generosity of a penetrating and cultivated mind, than goodness pure and simple. Ambitious as Louis XIV was, in French history, loving, as he did, ostentation and display, and no less susceptible to flattery, if he employed and encouraged the artists of his period, he never was in harmony with them unless they were courtiers as well. During the last six years of his life, Raphael will play very much the same part at the Vatican as Le Brun did at Versailles, deciding everything whether small or great; it is only because the painter of the Stanze heaped with honours and loaded with work, had no trouble, with all the grace and charm of his nature and talent, in proving himself a rather able courtier. He was so much in favour that he had a little court of his own. Michael Angelo, whom these ways displeased and who, doubtless, regretted the earnest austerity of Julius II, met him one day in the Vatican surrounded by his train of followers : « I see

(1) Clement VII Medeci, pope from 1523 to 1534 .

(2) *The Prince*, chap. XI.

you move now with a retinue like a prince », said he to him as he passed, not without a certain bitterness in his voice. « And you », Raphael answered back, « you walk alone, like a hangman ». Despite the power of their genius, diverse as it was, these two natures were not made to get on well together (1). In the same way, it may be said that Leo X (who moreover did not keep the painter of the Sistine at the Vatican, but sent him to Florence where he remained many years), never understood as Julius II did, the proud character of a Michael Angelo, nor all the grandeur of the conception of a Bramante.

We have seen that Donato Lazzari, who was to immortalize the beautiful surname of *Bramante* (2) was born in 1444, close by the little town of Urbino, and that he passed his early life in the duchy of Milan — at the court of the same Ludovico the Moor who, up till the last years of the century, was to be the patron of Leonardo da Vinci as well. But exactly what was the first piece of work carried out by Bramante in Rome ? « Here », says Le Tarouilly, « we come upon several difficulties as regards the celebrated architect. We have examined them with the greatest care without being able, in our own mind, to arrive at a very satisfactory conclusion. According to Vasari and other biographers, after having executed numerous constructions in Romagna and the Milanese, Bramante did not go to Rome until 1500. He at first gave himself up to the study of antique monuments and pushed his researches and travels as far as Naples. However, the inscription on the *Cancellaria*, a building one cannot deny as Bramante's, bears the date 1495, that is to say five years earlier than that architect's supposed arrival in Rome.

« Vasari pretends as well that the cloister of *Santa Maria*

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(1) Raphael however, did not underrate the worth of his rival, whose influence made itself felt in his later compositions. Michael Angelo appreciated Raphael in his way: « That young man », said he, « is an example of what study can do., »

(2) He who seeks, or desires ceaselessly.

*della Pace* was his first work in Rome and made his reputation; now, according to the inscription, that cloister was built in 1504, the same year as another very important structure, the Giraud Palace. Finally, still more opposed to Vasari's statement is the date of the small temple of San Pietro in Montorio, built in 1502, and that of 1500 which one reads on a frieze of the house Vicolo del Governo Vecchio... After all these considerations, I should be led to believe that his arrival in Rome was anterior to the year 1500 (1). »

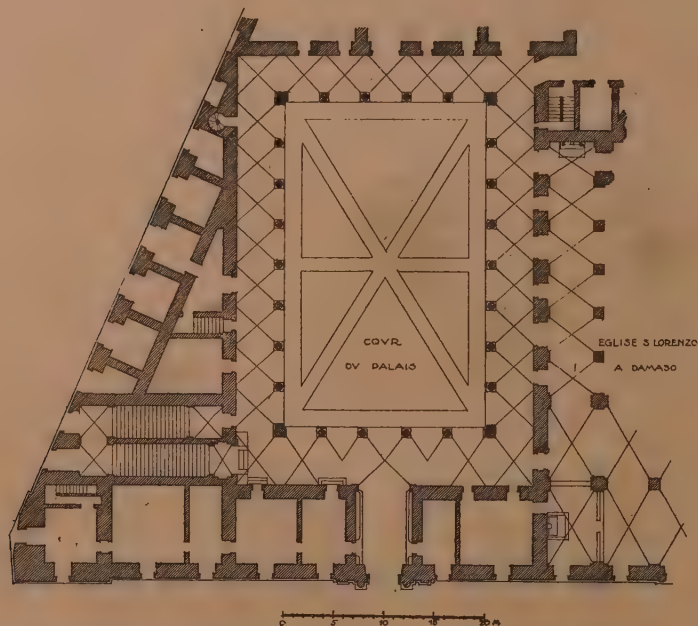
That seems evident enough. Vasari's statements are far from being always irrefutable and it seems very difficult to attribute the construction of the « *Cancellaria* » to anyone but Bramante, as some authors do. That remarkable edifice, which remains as the type of early 16th century Roman art, so follows the great artist's manner, that it is almost as entirely characteristic of Bramante as the *Iliad* is of Homer, and as that would still remain until the day when it would have been proved to us that Homer never existed. No one, on the other hand, denies Bramante the façade of the Giraud Palace, and that composition presents such similarity with the elevation of the Chancellery, that it is hardly possible to admit that an artist of his worth and originality, would have limited himself to reproduce, in its smallest details, the work of a contemporary architect whose name would not have come down to us.

The Palace of the Cancellaria was erected, or rather rebuilt in 1495 at the expense of Cardinal Raphael Riario da Savona, nephew of Sixtus IV, like Guiliano della Rovere. The beauty of its long façade with its pure quiet lines, the charm of its court, so universally admired, all the effect of unity, due to the harmony of the proportions, still more than the perfect refinement of its detail, (*Pl.* 43) have, in the eyes of connoisseurs, classed it for a long time, as one of the most beautiful productions of that favoured epoch. The use, in the main elevation, of those coupled pilasters of the

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(1) Buildings of modern Rome. Text of plate 79.

rythmic bay, of which we have already spoken, and which is in itself a characteristic of Bramante, relieves all monotony in that imposing composition, (which covers more than 300 feet), although the great architect, roman by adoption, and oblivious of his early manner, had carefully rejected every superfluous decorative motive, everything



Plan of the Cancelleria.

that was not the *élément analytique* pure and simple, such as ancient ruins offered him, in remains still standing in the Campo Vaccino, or in the four orders of the Colosseum.

The detail of this beautiful palace seems to attain absolute perfection. The slight projection of the mouldings, their delicacy so well suited to the light of Rome, spoil a little, however, the effect of the façade, now that the patina



ROME



Drawing made after  
Letarouilly.

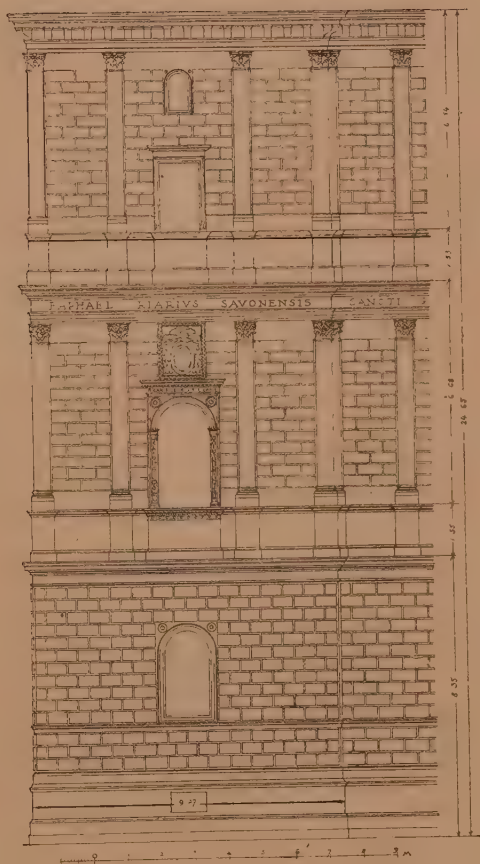
COURTYARD OF THE CANCELLARIA



of four centuries has darkened its walls. But if one examines the building a little more than superficially, one soon comes to appreciate the firmness of its outlines, and the refinement of its

smallest ornaments. The capitals of the pilasters (*Pl.* 43), are worth studying with very particular attention: « Of the sort that were much in vogue at that period, when one loved variety especially, they seem inspired by classic capitals of which numerous enough examples exist; Bramante in adopting them, proved his discerning taste. They harmonize perfectly with the elegance of the windows and other details, and the nature of their adjustment leaves them still effective even at rather considerable heights (1). »

We have pointed out the great similarity that exists bet-



*Angle of the Cancellaria.*

(1) Le Tarouilly, text of plate 81.

ween façade of the Cancelleria, and that of the Giraud Palace, built in 1503 for Cardinal Adrian of Corneto. The year before, Bramante had erected, on the supposed spot of Saint Peter's martyrdom, the circular temple which remains one of his best known works, and was considered by his contemporaries equal to some Roman edifices (*Pl.* 32).

Standing in the court of the Convent of San Pietro in Montorio (1) on that rise of ground called the Gianicolo which dominates the panorama of Rome, this precious small monument (which has a little the air of a reliquary, so modest are its dimensions) was to be accompanied, in Bramante's scheme, by an arrangement of the portico of the court on a circular plan, which was not carried out. The whole is of such happy proportions that one hardly notices — as in certain monuments of Venice — the extreme smallness of the motives; and the effect produced by this composition, full of both nobility and elegance, is truly marvellous, if one thinks of the simplicity of the elements by means of which it seems to have so easily obtained it.

As much might be said of the cloister of San Maria della Pace (1504). In this case, even more than in the preceeding example, one is struck by the restraint of the motives : the arches of the ground-floor have not even archivolt mouldings. But what charm of *ensemble* and what distinction in the arrangement of the upper portico! The purists blame Bramante very much for having placed a colonnette on the axis of the key of an arch... Blessed mistake! since it permitted him to create, thereby, an interesting type of bay (2). It belongs to genius to justify by success the licence it takes : where an awkward person would only have made a clumsy mistake, it is enough for Bramante to allow himself

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(1) Constructed about 1500 by Baccio Pintelli (if not by Meo del Carpino!)

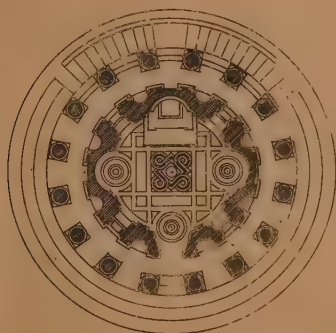
(2) To tell the truth, this was not an innovation. Bramante himself had just done something similar in the sacristy of San Satiro, and we have pointed out the motive of the Bevilacqua Court at Bologna. The Procuratie Vecchie of Venice present the same disposition, in memory perhaps of the porticoes of the Ducal Palace.

ROME



DEMI ELEVATION

DEMI 3 PS. 1/2



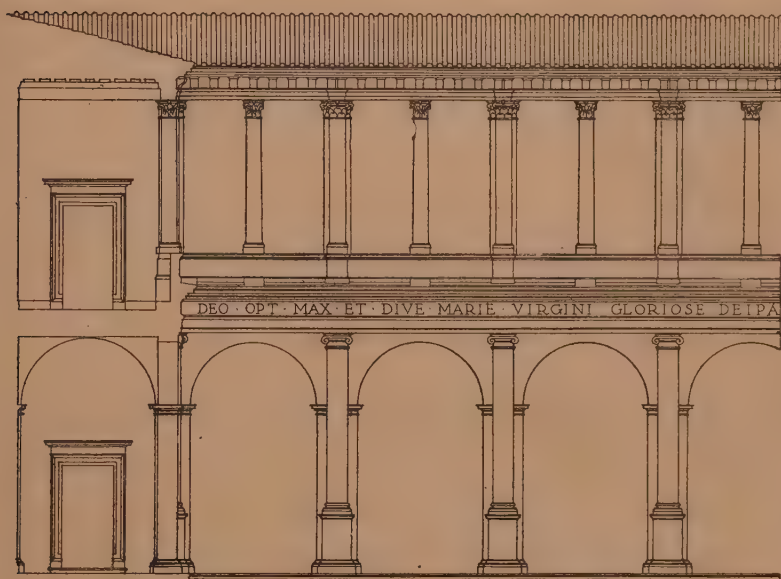
BRAMANTE'S TEMPIETTO, S. PIETRO IN MONTORIO





this mistake : it ceases to be one, and it permits us to consider that disposition as *classic* in the purest sense of the word, in spite of logic, and to a certain extent, of construction.

Le Tarouilly believes two small edifices of less importance can be attributed to Bramante, in which the style of the



Cloister, S. Maria della Pace.

master seems indeed evident enough. One dates from the year 1500; it is a four-storied house, the façade of which, about 8 meters broad, is still to be seen in Rome, Via del Governo Vecchio. The other is the octogonal chapel of San Giovanni in Oleo, situated not far from the Porta Latina, the frieze of which bears along with the date 1509, the name of the reigning pope Julius II.

But Bramante's great work, like the pope's great preoccupation, was to be the creation of Saint Peter's and the con-

struction of a new Vatican (See *Pl.* 48). Concerning the Basilica, whose history we shall review in a special chapter, we shall see that the primitive scheme — superior however to all the others — underwent in the space of a century numerous and profound alterations. The majestic *ensemble* dreamed of as the pontifical residence was not carried out with all the amplitude of the original plans, so worthy of both Bramante and Julius II. « In front of one side of the palace, that flanked by the Borgia Tower, the architect began the construction of an enormous main building 300 meters long, which rising parallel with the slopes of the Vatican hill, was to join the fortress of Nicholas V to the Belvedere of Innocent VIII. These buildings were to have for façade loggias of three stories, of which the arcades were copied from the theatre of Marcellus and the pilasters, grouped in pairs between open bays, from the Cancelleria Palace. They served as an enclosure for a stadium erected at the foot of the hill for tournaments or bull fights, made fashionable by the Borgias, and higher up a garden terrace laid out in imposing tiers. The background was a colossal niche which masked the villa of Innocent VIII and which opened in the distance like the apse of a temple opened to the sky. This imposing perspective was cut off by the building of the Library (1) and the Braccio Nuovo of the Museum, erected across the long enclosure, between the stadium and the terrace. The so-called Belvedere Court, where Julius II made his collection of antiques, and which to-day is part of the Museum, is still dominated by the useless and superb niche (*Pl.* 33), the only remains almost intact of Bramante's Vatican. (2)

Julius II died in 1513, leaving unfinished the larger part of the great work that he had dreamt of with impatient ardour. One of his later projects, the erection of a Palace

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(1) The Library dates from Sixtus V (1588). The more modern *Braccio Nuovo* belongs to Stern, the architect under Pius VII (1817).

(2) E. Bértaux, *Rome*, vol. III, chap. I.

# ROME



*Cliché Allnart*

THE VATICAN, SEEN FROM S. PETER'S CUPOLA





of Justice, was only just begun. One still sees the traces of the beds of stone of the gigantic monument on the base of a few houses of that Via Giulia which he had started on, and to which he wanted to give his name. Hardly a year later, Bramante died in his turn, without having been able either to see the brilliant dream come true, which would have made the pontifical city an *ensemble* worthy of rivaling the vastest antique compositions.

But the conception of that whole alone, of which we have happily kept some idea, suffices, along with the original plans of Saint Peter's, to place the great architect in the first rank of the artists of his epoque, and perhaps of all times. Executed such as he conceived it, his work would certainly have surpassed by far the models from which he was able to draw his inspiration. Burckhardt, speaking of Saint Peter's, makes the remark that « for unity of composition, there is not an ancient monument which can equal it in grandeur and majesty ». And he adds that the façades of Bramante are distinguished from those of other masters, « because apart from individual charm, they are a perfect expression of a law of harmony ». Nothing could be truer. Face to face with these pure restrained compositions, one is certainly more sensitive to the beauty of the proportion which is to be found between the solids and voids, than to the perfection of the detail (1). And the great architect had every claim to exercise such a considerable prestige in the minds of the following generation, as much because of the quality of his works, as for the number of remarkable artists whom he helped by his advice, or formed with his own hands, as it were. Apart from Raphael (2) it seems that Peruzzi, Sangallo, Sanmicheli and Sansovino collaborated in his works, at least during the last years of his life. His influence on the first architects of the French Renaissance, on Philibert Delorme and Pierre Lescot, is evident. Palladio

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(1) Compare with what was said further back of the work of the early Renaissance in upper Italy.

(2) Whom Bramante, his uncle and compatriot, presented to Julius II.

himself, a half century later, made a drawing of Bramante's Tempietto (1) and included that small building among his studies *after the Antique*. The homage of Michael Angelo's old age, when he abandoned all the modifications of his predecessors to return to the original plan of Saint Peter's, and that of the creator of modern architecture fully justified, beforehand, the judgment of posterity.

Although Bramante's nephew and pupil — the great Raphael Santi (1483-1520) — is infinitely more celebrated in the history of art as the painter of the *Stanze* of Julius II and decorator of the Loggie of the Vatican, it is well to remember he was to fulfill at the court of Leo X the mission of general superintendant which later was entrusted by Louis XIV to Le Brun, and that, under that title, he was to direct all the works undertaken at that epoch. Architect of St. Peter's, we shall see that he proposed a basilical plan for the completion of the building; plan certainly not without merit, but which had the grave fault of departing entirely from Bramante's first dispositions. Doubtless, he had to furnish for the frequenters of the Vatican, designs for a great number of private constructions, but, in spite of his activity, he must have had them carried out by others amid his manifold occupations; and that is why, of all the architects of the Renaissance, Raphael remained one of the least well-known : to each one of his works, the name of the constructor has naturally remained attached and a tradition, more or less well founded, allows but the general plans alone to be attributed to the painter of the « *School of Athens* » and the *Transfiguration*. Beginning with 1516, it would seem, however, that he made studies for the large villa of Cardinal Giulio di Medici, (the future Clement VII), which was to be decorated later by Giulio Romano and Raphael's pupils; of this beautiful composition which has a very antique quality, and stucco decorations which are obviously inspired by

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(1) The small round temple of San Pietro in Montorio.



ANGLE OF PANDOLFINI PALACE







ROME



CLOISTER, S. MARIA DELLA PACE

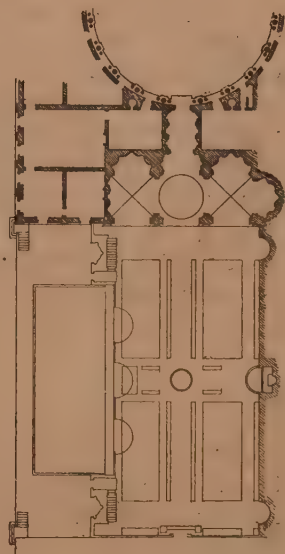
FLORENCE



PALAZZO PANDOLFINI

rooms in the Baths of Titus that excavations had just brought to light, there remains only the abandoned structure, known by the name of the Villa Madama (1), comprising the open loggia, the walls and three vaults of which are adorned with precious decorations which rank among the most beautiful works of the time (2).

The Pandolfini Palace also (*Pl.* 34, 35), executed only in 1530 by Giovanni Francesco da Sangallo, has always been considered as a translation of a drawing by Raphael. It is, at Florence, the edifice that best characterizes the Roman epoch: the same *tabernacle* windows are to be seen which we pointed out in the *Bartoloni* Palace, and which were soon to find in the *Farnese* their most perfect adjustment; the belt courses, treated in a particularly striking manner, and the beautiful arrangement of the rustication of the door, are not however unlike certain elements of the work of Sangallo the Younger, who began, about the same epoch, the studies of the palace of Paul III.



Villa Madama.

The Uguccioni Palace at Florence (3) where the same disposition of rustication has been used for the arches of the ground-floor (*Pl.* 35, 36) the *Stoppani* Palace (4) at Rome —

(1) About three kilometers north of St. Peter's, on the slope of Mount Mario. The villa belonged to the Infanta Margherita, daughter of Charles-Quint, hence the name Madama.

(2) To-day this loggia is enclosed in glass, like the loggias of the Vatican. This protects priceless decoration, but not without spoiling a good deal the effect of the whole.

(3) Constructed in 1530 by the architect Zanobi Folli, Piazza della Signoria.

(4) Or Vidoni. Built by Lorenzetto.

beautiful example of a rather elevated base supporting an order of slight height, — finally the porch of the church of *S. Maria in Domnica*, are all attributed to Raphael. It is believed, moreover, that he contributed a few ideas to the villa of Federigo di Gonzaga at Mantua, erected and decorated by Giulio Romano; it is the *Palazzo del Tajetto*, or by abbreviation *Palazzo del Te*, an unequal and interesting work in which perhaps still more than in the *Villa Madama* there was the attempt to evoke the memory of a country residence of the ancients.

But above all, the great painter will clearly remain the prodigious decorator of the *Stanze*. It was there that, from 1508 until his death, he spent the best of himself, and one can hardly hope to have the least idea of his genius without having traversed these few rooms, so simply vaulted, in which not one moulding assists the decoration, but of which the smallest section of wall would, however, suffice to immortalize an artist... (1).

« This is Raphael », reads the subtle but very latin epitaph of cardinal Bembo : « Alive, nature was afraid of him, fearing to be conquered by him. Dead, she died with him... » The most pompous tomb would be less moving than these two lines carved under a simple bust on the wall of the Roman Pantheon where he lies not far from Peruzzi :

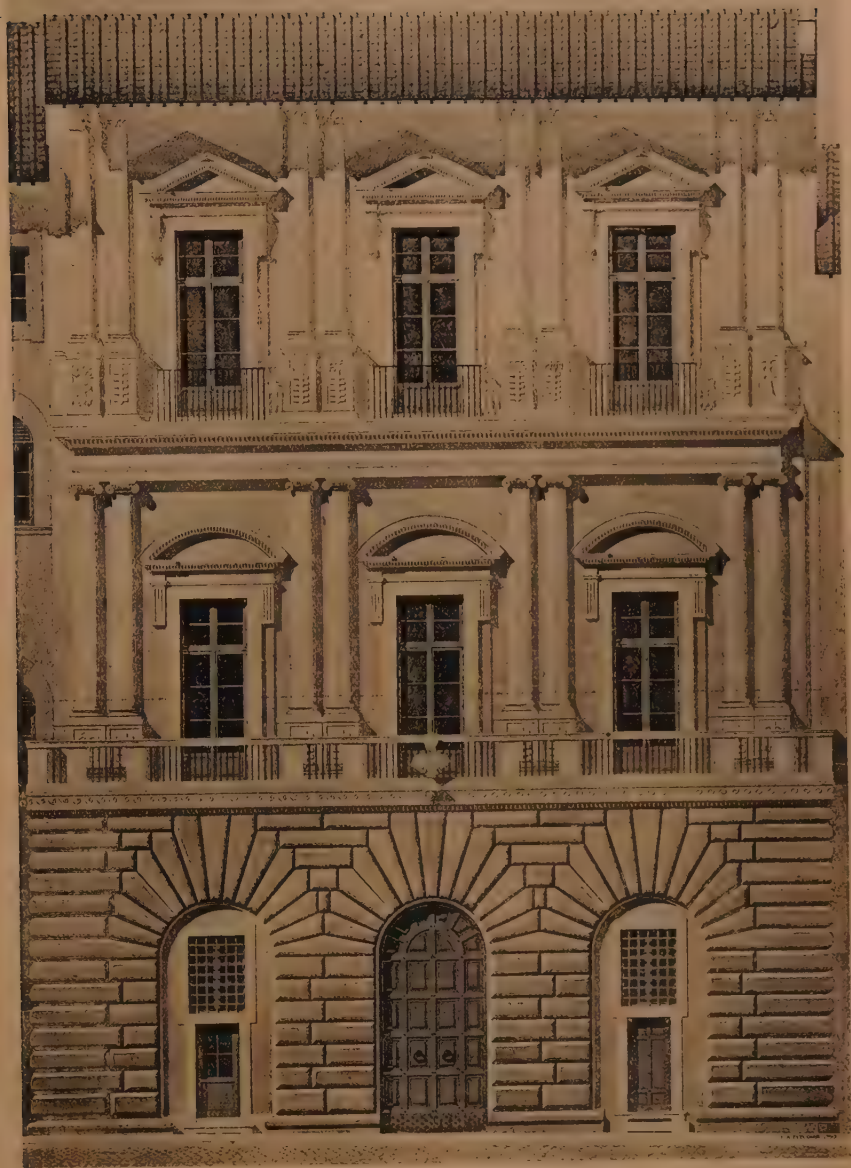
*Ille hic est Raphael, timuit quo sospite vinci  
Rerum magna parens, et moriente mori...*

Baldassare Peruzzi!... few names are so justly entitled to the homage of posterity, and very few have remained so obscure, especially if one judges his fame by the measure of his talent. Born at Siena in 1481, he began his career as a

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(1). The frescoes which are entirely by the hand of Raphael are: in the first room, the *Fire of the Borgo* (1517), in the second room (della *Signatura*), the *Disputation of the Blessed Sacrament*, the *Parnassus*, the *School of Athens* and the four figures of the ceiling (1508 to 1511); finally, in the third room (1511 to 1514), *Heliodorus driven from the Temple*, the *Mass of Bolsena*, *Attila at the gates of Rome*, and the *Deliverance of St. Peter*. The Constantine Room was painted after Raphael's death, under Clement VII.

FLORENCE



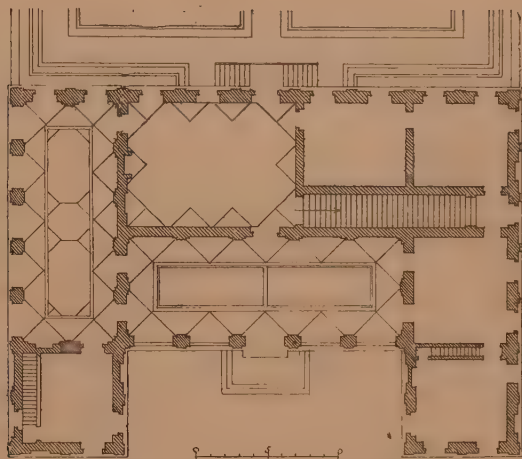
PALLAZZO UGUCCIONI

AFTER M. E. A. TITCOMB'S MEASURED DRAWING





painter and the few paintings which he has left behind show well enough that he could have raised himself to the ranks of the ablest. He did not go to Rome until about 1508, almost at the same time as Raphael, at the instance of Agostino Chigi, his compatriot and friend, son of the shrewd banker Chigi Giovanni who gained such a high place in the favour and esteem of Julius II. At an epoch when the



*Plan of the « Farnesina »*

descendants of the Florentine merchant, Giovanni d'Averardo (1), after having become princes of the church, were to occupy the pontifical throne for some twenty years, Agostino Chigi, from Sienna, was able to acquire honour by becoming the Medici of Rome. From 1508, Peruzzi began in the Trastevere the construction of a residence of relatively modest proportions, more like a villa than a palace, and of which the interior decoration was to be adorned with the rarest splendour. Peruzzi himself, Raphael, Giulio Romano, and later Annibale Carracci succeeded one another in covering

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(1) Founder of the Medici fortune.

with their celebrated frescoes its ceilings, vaults and walls. It was under the main Loggia that Raphael's pupils painted from the master's cartoons, the immortal pages of the story of Psyche. The villa itself (Pl. 37) which is designated by the name *Farnesina* because it had belonged to the Farnese since 1580, had the rather rare merit of being perfectly adapted to the purpose which Chigi proposed. He wished to receive there, beyond the Tiber, and in a quarter of Rome which was then almost country, his clients and his numerous friends, the intimates of the Pope, and among them, the future Leo X. Peruzzi succeeded in creating for him the Roman type of a florentine villa : Lorenzo di Medici would have been glad to possess at Fiesole this agreeable residence. « It was not built » affirms Vasari in his *Life of Great Architects* : « It seems to have been born by enchantment ». The Farnesina was, in any case, very decidedly an innovation, in spite of its Roman elements, its beautiful frieze inspired by ancient remains (1) and the simplicity of the scheme.

The name of Baldassare Peruzzi has remained connected with a great number of structures erected from 1508 to 1536. The variety of his talents does not always allow us to affirm, in an incontestable manner, that he really superintended the execution of them. The palaces Lante, Linotte (2), Ossoli, Costa, notably, are attributed to him, as well as a pleasant house situated in the Via Guilia, not far from the church *dei Fiorentini*. At Sienna several buildings remind us that it was there that the great artist spent the first years of his youth. But, outside Rome, his most important work was the Albergati Palace at Bologna (Pl. 37, 38), which was not, however, erected until after his death (3). If this enormous structure had been completely finished, it would perhaps have been possible to establish a parallel between this composition and Sangallo's great work: the Farnese Palace

(1) It was this motive that was to give Sansovino later the idea of the frieze for the « Libreria » of Venice.

(2) Le Tarouilly attributes the Lante Palace to Bramante. The Linotte Palace might have been Sangallo's.

(3) In 1546.

ROME



*Cliché Alinari*

THE FARNESINA

BOLOGNA



*Cliché P. H.*

PALAZZO ALBERGATI



BOLOGNA



PALAZZO ALBERGATI





(Pl. 40); for these two architects marked by very different works the zenith of the Roman Renaissance. Doubtless, Sangallo was better intended for civil architecture or for very large palaces, while Peruzzi seems to have excelled in domestic architecture. Sangallo's detail (Pl. 43) had the strength and scale appropriate to motives of great dimensions : Peruzzi's detail, in which a recollection of Greek profiles is often to be found, is always above all a marvel of delicacy, moderation and taste. But, as we see his beautiful mouldings applied only to motives of modest proportions, we ought not to come to the conclusion that he would



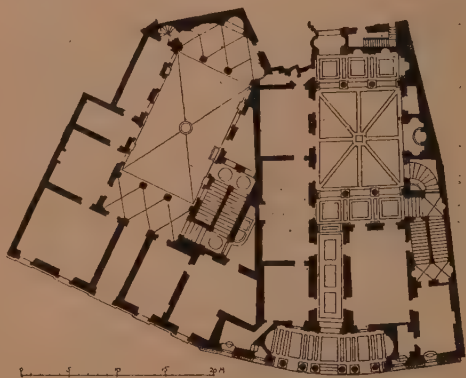
*Motives, Massimi Palace.*

not have known how to modify them entirely for the purpose of adapting them to monuments of greater size.

The Massimi Palace at Rome is clearly his masterpiece. About the year 1530, Pietro and Angelo Massimi gave Peruzzi the task of rebuilding their family home, which had been

destroyed like so many others in 1527 when the city was sacked by the Connétable de Bourbon. On a ground of a discouraging form, and partly upon ancient foundations, he had to create, for each of the two brothers, a separate, individual mansion. The plan is astounding in its cleverness. Nothing in it seems irregular, and each element has just the right dimension, so that it is impossible to guess that the architect has had the least difficulty anywhere. It is a masterly composition. The noble simplicity of the façade (Pl. 39), the pleasing arrangement of the court, and everywhere the incomparable perfection of detail, makes this palace of modest appearance —

which still belongs to the Massimi family — the purest



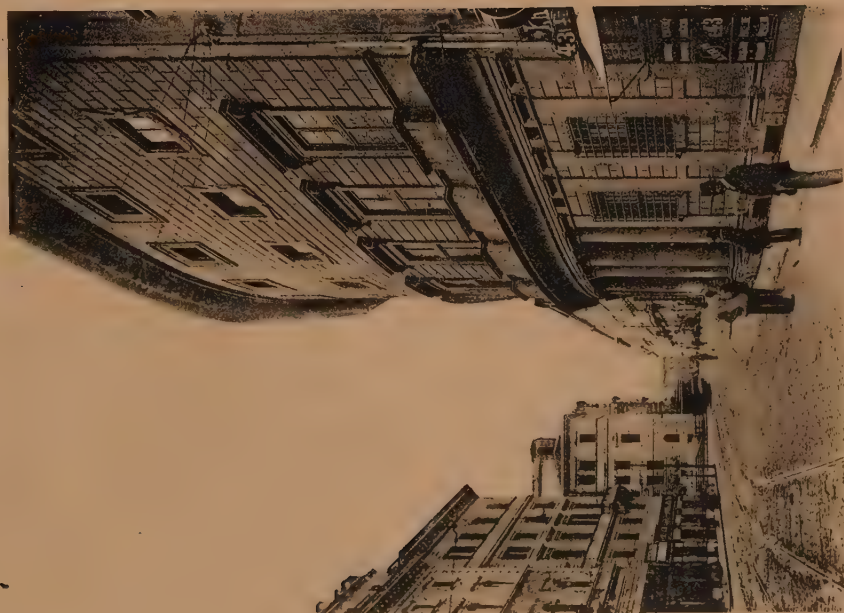
*Plan of the Massimi Palaces.*

type of Renaissance city residence at the zenith of its evolution. The beautiful plates devoted by Le Tarouilly to this small monument must be consulted attentively (1) : nothing could be more completely instructive. In all the mouldings, after practically four centuries, there is not to be found one detail that has grown antiquated; the elements, as in certain parts of the Farnese Palace, have achieved in this case their final expression, and one must seek to do something else if one wishes to try to do better.

It was towards the year 1532 that Peruzzi commenced the two Massimi Palaces. « He was then », says Le Tarouilly, « in the full strength of his talent. The taste and infinite

(1) Buildings of Modern Rome, Vol. III. Plates 280-303.

PALAZZO MASSIMI, ROME



FAÇADE



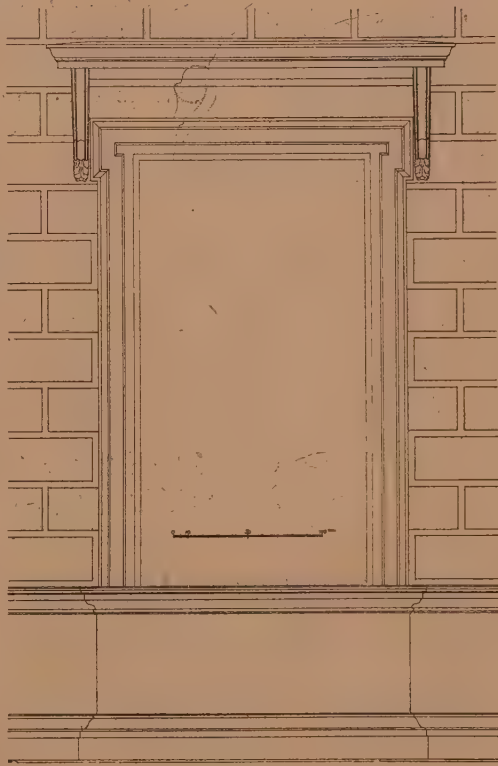
Cliché P. H.

COURTYARD





variety which he put into the ornamentation, shows how much he enjoyed his work which he studied in the smallest detail. But then his health underwent a great change; a very restless life and continual fatigue had undermined his constitution. Perhaps too, it was the poison given, it is said, by some envious person ambitious to replace him as architect of St. Peter's (1) - which shortened so full and industrious a life. He died in 1586 in a state bordering on want. One should not be astonished at his unfortunate end; Peruzzi had to provide for a numerous family, and



*Windord, Massimi Palace.*

he was never able to obtain remuneration in proportion to his merit and his services. According to Vasari, whose account we accept, the wealthy persons who profited by his talents by taking advantage of the sweetness of his character, his modesty and extreme reserve, thought less of recompensing him than of exploiting him. Like

(1) We shall speak further on of the collaboration of Peruzzi on this monument.

Raphael, Peruzzi completed his career with his masterpiece, and like him he left it unfinished. » (1)

All agree to-day still to attribute to Peruzzi the architecture of the *Chigi Chapel* at Santa Maria del Popolo ; Raphael was charged with the decoration of this little edifice and for this reason he is often considered to be the architect of the whole building. But he evidently worked on it under the same conditions as he did the on Farnesina, in concert with Peruzzi. In that chapel there is a vault very happily proportioned, which Raphael decorated with charming mosaics executed from his cartoons.

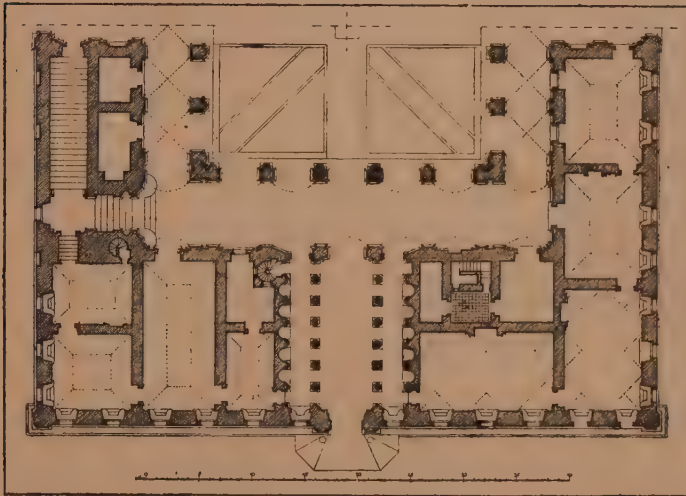
We have seen that, at the start, Peruzzi had been backed by his compatriot Chigi. It was Cardinal Alessandro Farnese who made Sangallo's fortune. Born in 1485 and nephew of the brothers Giuliano and Antonio the Elder, of whom we have already had occasion to speak, he had specialized when very young in the study of architecture, and it might be said that he was Bramante's pupil, since he collaborated in an active manner in the labours of the last years of the latter's life. At the age of twenty one, in 1506, he erected, as his first work, the Palma Palace in which the power of his style was already evinced although certain parts of the composition, on the other hand, were not up to the standard of his mature work. In 1507 he drew up the plans and orders of *Santa Maria di Loreto*, that one of the two churches of the Piazza Trajana which was disfigured by Giacomo del Duca's lantern (1850), so little in harmony with the restraint of the edifice. Twenty years passed then for Sangallo occupying himself with relatively obscure work, until the day when Cardinal Alessandro provided him with the opportunity to display all his powers, by entrusting him with the execution of the palace which he intended erecting in the *Campo di Fiore*, a few steps from

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(1) Le Tarouilly. Text of Pl. 280.

the Cancellaria and the Via Giulia, in the centre of modern Rome (1530).

The fortune of the Farnese dated back to the pontificate of Alessandro Borgia. The beautiful Giulia, the Pope's mistress, had required his young brother to join the Sacred College and for almost thirty years the envious had no other name for the Cardinal Alessandro than that of the

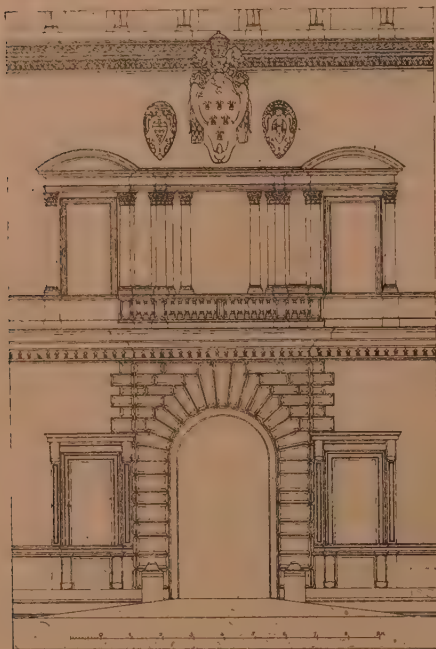


*Half plan of Farnese Palace.*

« Petticoat Cardinal ». That did not hinder him from obtaining, upon the death of Clement VII, a majority in the Conclave. The architect of the Farnese Palace became in 1534 the architect of Pope Paul III.

Antonio da Sangallo the Younger was then forty nine years old. Appealing to the Pope through the weakest side of his nature, he made him understand that his son, the too-famous Pier Luigi, appointed Gonfalonier of the Church and invested with new dignities, would certainly find himself over-crowded in the Palace as originally proposed. The plans were remade and enlarged, the existing constructions modified in such a way as to accord with the new

ones, and it was thus that it took almost ten years for the imposing façade to be erected as high as the first mouldings of the cornice. The Pope, realizing that this element was going to play a considerable part in the effect of the composition, then gave in competition to a certain number



*Dorway Farnese Palace.*

of artists the cornice of the Palace (Pl. 42). The cornice handed in by Michael Angelo was judged by far the best (1) and if one may reproach Paul III for not having left to Sangallo (who had given sufficient proof of his talent) the honour of completing alone a work so brilliantly begun, at least one is obliged to acknowledge that it would have been impossible for him to have done any better (2). What Peruzzi had done at the Farnesina by taking inspiration from the villas of Florence to create a new

edifice, Sangallo realised also in this case as regards a vast city residence. By adopting the general scheme of Floren-

(1) Michael Angelo, absent from Rome since 1515, had returned from Florence recalled by Clement VII in 1533. He occupied, in the court of Paul III and his successors, the place Raphael did at the court of Leo X.

(2) This remarkable cornice, similar to a certain extent to that of the Strozzi Palace, is of a purity of profile rarely met with in Michael Angelo's architecture. That is what has induced certain authors like Le Tardouilly to attribute that work, at least in part, to Vignola who would have worked as a subordinate.

ROME

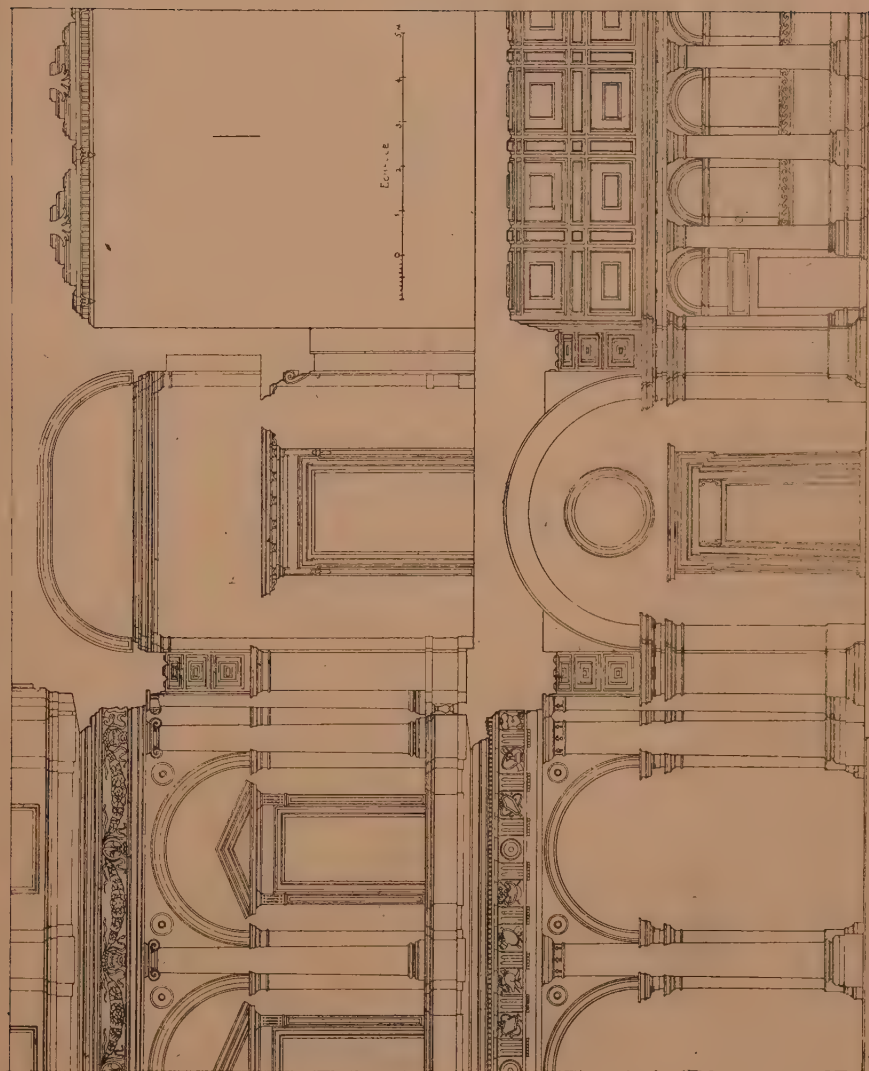


*Cliche P. H.*

THE FARNESE PALACE







SECTION ON COURT, PORTICO AND VESTIBULE



tine architecture, he created the perfect type of a great Roman palace. The plan is too well known to insist a long time over it. The amplitude of the vestibule, the proportions of the court and its wide open porticoes, the arrangement of the staircase and the lateral exits have made of it a classic example the attentive and analytical study of which can not be too forcibly recommended. The elevations offer no less interest: the windows of the main façade as well as those of the court (1) are faultless models that one would gladly show to beginners; the angles of the palace and the string courses which separate the three stories show main mouldings of a vigour and distinction rarely found in a same example (Pl. 43). What could we say of the superposed orders of the court? Inspired by the Theatre of Marcellus, they are certainly not inferior to their model (Pl. 41). It is a piece of perfect proportion which one neither tires of seeing or admiring (2).

Sangallo, who died in 1546, was replaced by Michael Angelo in superintending the work. His intervention, except as concerns the exterior cornice, does not appear to have been very fortunate. The great artist cared very little for the personality of others, and particularly Sangallo's. It is for that reason that the second story of the court, for which a corinthian portico had been intended, was decorated with an order of pilasters and with windows the detail

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(1) Obviously it is not a question of the upper windows of the façade, the incorrectness of which has sometimes, but erroneously, caused them to be attributed to Michael Angelo, nor of the windows of the second story of the court which quite belong to him and of which we shall speak further on.

(2) Same reservation as above as to what concerns Michael Angelo's additions and modifications. The court is supposed to have been constructed with stones from the Coliseum. Sangallo has sometimes been censured for the complexity of the impost of his doric order. It is true that the projection of the small cornice with architrave, cuts into the apparent contour of the column, and that this detail is so much the more noticeable since the column is only exactly half engaged. But the architect wished to connect the vestibule with the court by recalling its bases, capitals, and small entablature. The effect of the whole is very happy and the eye follows perfectly in perspective the successive projections of this series of mouldings which is continued as far as the end of the rear vestibule. The rather short columns of the vestibule have antique shafts. Sangallo had to use them as they were, and that explains the arrangement of the pedestals.

of which is disconcertingly incorrect. The Farnese Palace was not completed until about 1580 by Giacomo della Porta, a pupil of Vignola. It was he who had the loggia of the rear façade to handle, with its three arcades which overlook the Tiber, the Farnesina and the slopes of the Gianicolo.

By the side of this masterly work, Sangallo's other constructions appear to us of less compelling interest. Whether it is a question of the façade with octagonal corner known by the name of the Banco of Sangallo (1) and built for the pontifical mint (1532) or of the unfinished bastion erected not far from St. Peter's at the Porta San Spirito (1544) the hand of a great artist is recognised by the firmness of profile and the proportion of the whole; Vasari, who could hardly be suspected of partiality towards Sangallo (2) compares this latter work with the most beautiful things antiquity had produced. The great architect's collaboration on St. Peter's the construction of which he superintended after the death of Peruzzi, was limited to the formation of a new plan, the complexity of which was more or less generally disapproved. But the Vatican owes to him the beautiful hall called the *Sala Regia* which serves as vestibule to the Sistine Chapel, and the chapel of Paul III which connects with this same *Sala Regia*.

Finally, it is necessary to speak of the beautiful palace which the generosity of the Pope permitted Sangallo to construct for himself in the Via Giulia not far from the residence of the Farnese (1540). Doubtless nowhere else were his firm mouldings studied with so much care. The large windows of the base with their powerful consoles, the entrance door and the first-floor windows (Pl. 43) with slightly inclined jambs (3) are all models well-known and

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(1) Not far from the Sant' Angelo bridge, Via del Banco di San Spirito.

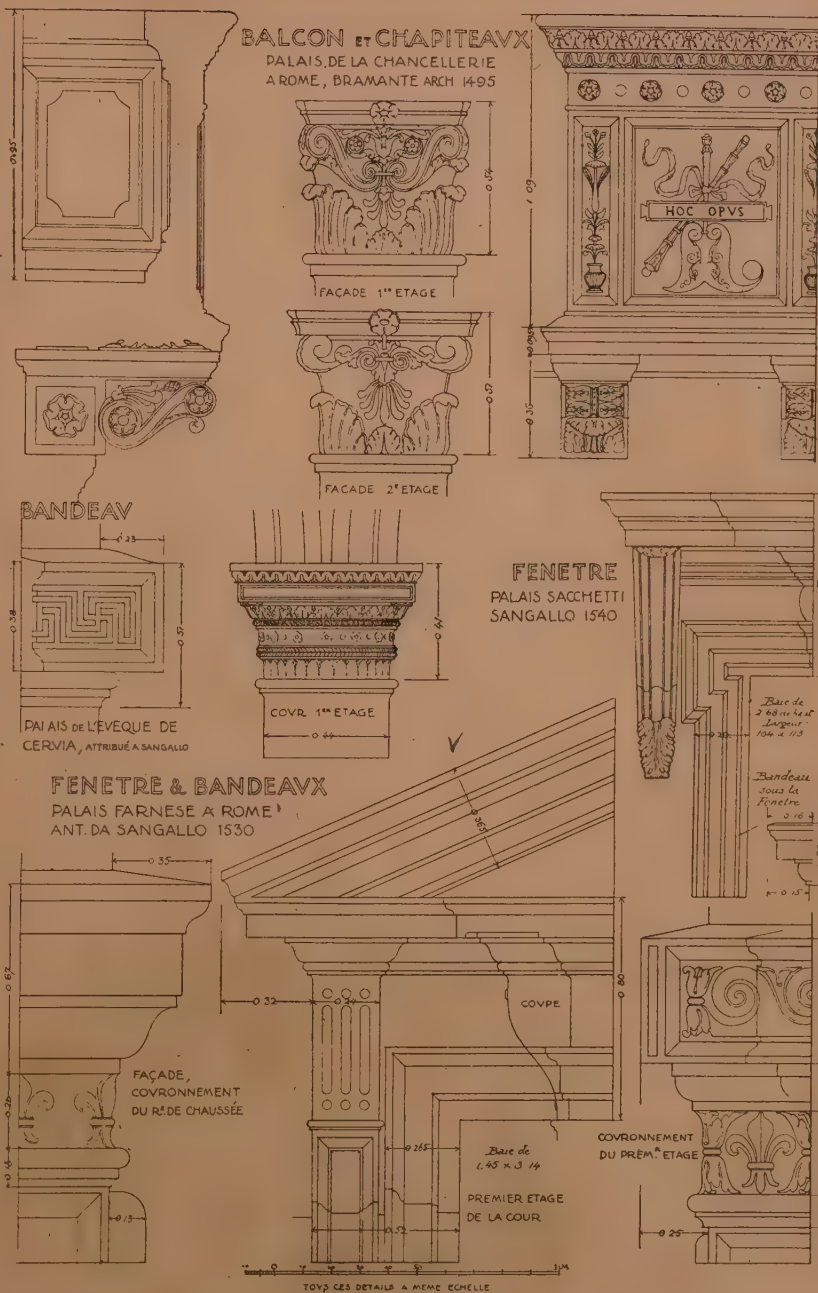
(2) Vasari, a pupil of Michael Angelo, had a boundless admiration for his master which must have influenced his judgment of Sangallo, with whom Michael Angelo had several rather lively disputes.

(3) Inspired by antique examples such as the Temple of Vesta at Tivoli.











justly appreciated. Sangallo did not have time enough to enjoy in peace the retreat he had thus created for himself: he died in 1546 without having finished it. By a pious deference for the Pope, he had introduced into the decoration the heraldic fleur-de-lis of the Farnese: « It is thou who hast given all these things to me » (1), such is the latin inscription in which the able artist expressed his gratitude to Paul III, thus paraphrasing Virgil's indirect homage to Augustus : *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit* (2).

The exceptional man, the prodigious genius who knew how to create the dreamlike decoration of the Sistine Chapel and to give birth in marble to the eternal forms of the Moses, the David, the Day and the Night (3) the architect, finally, who contributed most to give to St. Peter's the aspect which we know to-day, is quite truly the dominant figure around which the Sixteenth Century Renaissance seems to gravitate. The date of his birth and above all the length of his life allowed him to witness in Rome its complete evolution: Michael Angelo Buonarrotti was born at Florence in 1475 and died only in 1564 in his ninetieth year: « He was a brilliant sculptor » says Mr Anderson (4) « before Bramante came to Rome and while the Lombardi « worked at Venice. In the maturity of his powers he glorified by his painting and sculpture the zenith of the revival « in architecture, and he lived long enough to witness the « degradation into which it fell. His own hand initiated « the decline... »

Many artists, at this privileged epoch distinguished themselves in different branches of art at the same time, but it

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(1) *Tu mihi quodcumque hoc rerum est.* Sangallo's house is to-day the Sacchetti Palace. —

(2) It is this motto which is to be found again with the spelling « *otia* » at the entrance of the Albergati Palace.

(3) The Moses is the principal figure of the monument of Julius II in San Pietro in Vincoli, his church as cardinal. The David is at Florence, as well as the figures of Day and Night which adorn the sarcophagus of Giuliano de Medici.

(4) The Architecture of the Renaissance in Italy, Chap. IV.



must be recognised that often enough they succeeded more especially in devoting themselves to a single one. In this case, there is nothing of the sort, the frescoes of Michael Angelo may be to a certain extent painted sculpture or, if you like, the painting of a sculptor, but no one would think of preferring the sculptor of Moses to the painter of the *Creation of Man* (1). His architectural works are less striking perhaps. However the conception of the dome of St. Peter's alone would have sufficed to immortalize his name.

When one speaks of the work of Michael Angelo the architect, one must not forget to begin with, that of the three arts, ours was, without doubt, the one with which he was the least familiar, and that he did not devote himself to it until very late in life, and only with a certain regret. In 1546, and when he was seventy years of age, he found himself commanded by Paul III to succeed Sangallo as much in the work on St. Peter's, which everyone was anxious to push ahead, as in the work on the Farnese Palace to which we have alluded. He declared himself to be very little versed in architecture. There are no grounds to doubt his sincerity, for Michael Angelo was absolutely innocent of any kind of modesty and onne is quite willing to grant him dispensation.

At the request of Leo X, he had, however, in 1516 studied at Florence a project for the completion of San Lorenzo, Brunelleschi's church, the façade of which remained to be built. Michael Angelo's design was then preferred to Raphael's but he was however, entrusted only with the early stages of its erection (1). Eight years later, in 1524, he constructed under Clement the Seventh's orders, the New Sacristy of the same church, to serve as the sepulchre of Cosimo Senior, Lorenzo the Magnificent, and the two Medici Popes. As a matter of fact, not one of these people was buried in it, and Michael Angelo erected in that chapel only

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(1) One of the great compositions of the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel.

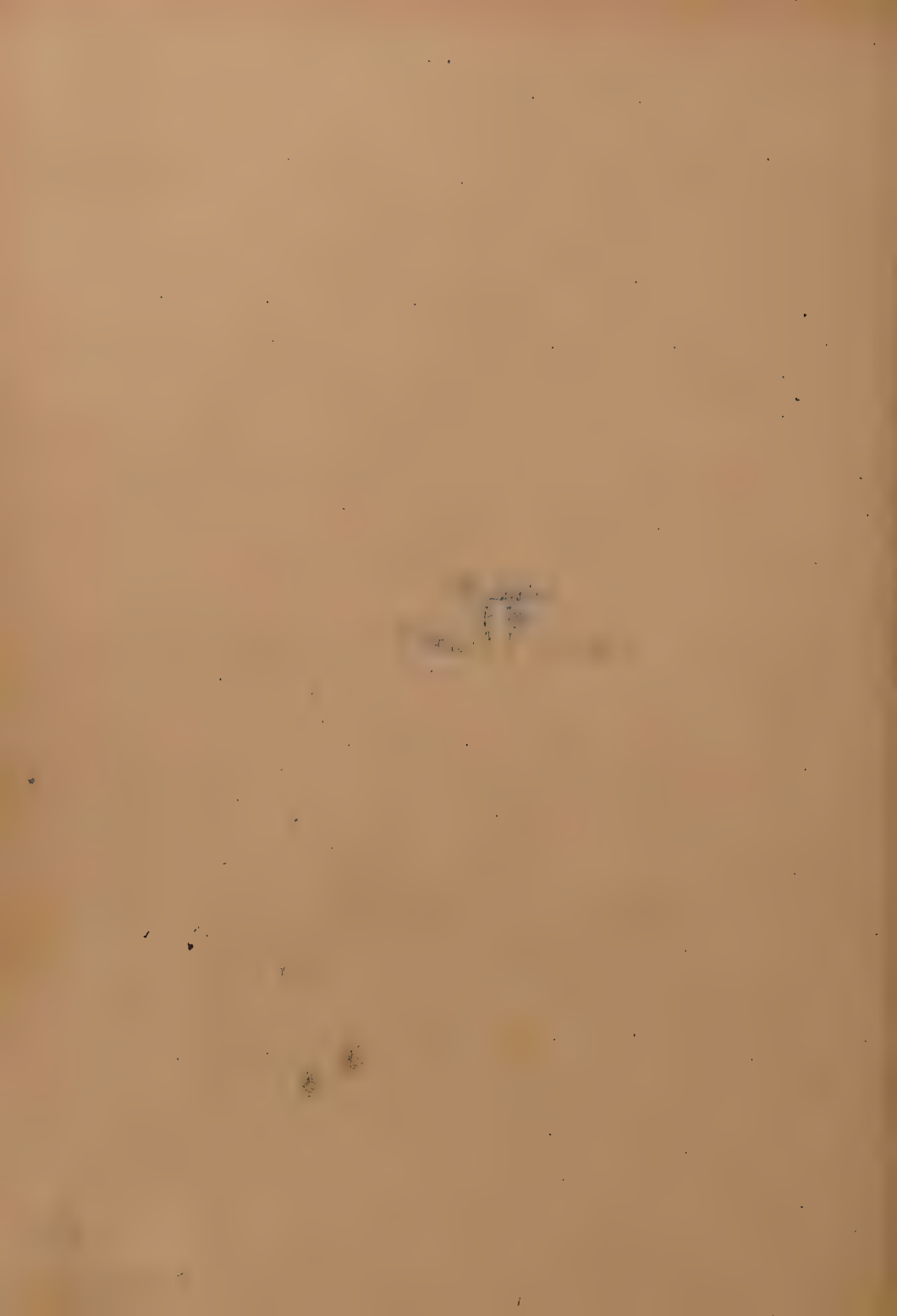
(2) The interior face of the wall was alone decorated by Michael Angelo. The façade itself has remained bare brick. To-day there is a question of completing this monument as was done in 1875 in the case of Santa Maria del Fiore.

FLORENCE



*Cliché Ainarl*

MAUSOLEUM OF LORENZO DI MEDICI  
NEW SACRISTY, S. LORENZO



the tombs of Julius and Lorenzo, dukes of Nemours and of Urbino (Pl. 44). The architectural back ground from which the statues of the two Medici (1) stand out accompanied, on the pediment of the sarcophagi, by the admirable figures of *Dawn* and *Twilight Night* and *Day*, allows one to divine how capricious and incorrect the Master's manner is to be when he devotes himself entirely to our art. It must be said that inevitably the architecture hardly makes itself felt here, and that, in any case, the profusion of minute detail does give to the principal elements, the statues, a scale which makes them considerably more imposing.

The same spirit of personal decoration, but much more restless and tumultuous, is to be found in the staircase of the Laurentian Library, begun in the following year, 1525, but only finished in 1571 by a favourite pupil: Giorgio Vasari. This theatrical composition, which aims solely at effect, can hardly be recommended from any point of view whatever: yet, one feels in spite of all the hand of a master. Burckhardt remarks, not without reason, that the staircase could very easily be less dangerous « and expose people less to the risk of breaking their necks ».

Michael Angelo had been brought to Rome during the last years of the Quattrocento by cardinal Riario who, at about the same period, had the Palace of the Cancellaria erected by Bramante. Returning to Florence in 1501, he was soon recalled by Julius II, and worked for about five years on the vast tomb that the Pope wished to have built at the end of the apse of St. Peter's. Everyone knows that of that grandiose project there remain only the Moses and the celebrated *Captives*. From 1508 to 1512, he executed the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. Finally, in 1515, the successor of Julius II sent him to work at Florence, whence he was not to return until 1533 on the instance of Clement VII. At that moment, the master was fifty-eight years old and his architectural work was reducing itself to very little.

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(1) The statue of Lorenzo is the one which is known as the *Thinker*.

For about ten years still, Michael Angelo hardly troubled himself at all with buildings: it is from that period (1535-1541) that dates the great fresco of the *Last Judgment* (1).

But the death of Sangallo, intervening in 1546, forced upon him to some extent the task of superintendant of the buildings, and it might be said that, from that day, a new phase of life began for the great artist. Independently of his important works on St. Peter's, of the transformation of a hall of the Baths of Diocletian into a Christian church (2), and the construction of the Porta Pia, a short distance from the same baths (1564), he put his name to a composition truly masterly, in spite of its imperfection of detail, and quite worthy of the noble memories it recalls: The piazza of the Roman Campidoglio (Pl. 45). On this narrow plateau which forms a sort of connecting ridge between the summit crowned by the church of Ara Cœli (3) and the height where in olden times stood the Tarpeian Rock and the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, utilizing as best he could the ancient foundations of the *Tabularium* to erect, as a background, the stately façade of the *Senatore* Palace (4), with its superb double flight of steps (Pl. 46), Michael Angelo adopted for the two lateral palaces (5) a use of the orders absolutely new — with large Corinthian pilasters embracing the height of the two floors — which showed well enough the master's taste for the colossal, and which was to serve, as a result, as a rather easy excuse for so many more or less able imitators.

In this, as in most of Michael Angelo's works, if the composition is powerful, personal, and if the effect obtained is striking, the detail, incorrect and bizarre, would end in spoiling the most beautiful proportions if the impression of

(1) Which occupies the whole end of the Sistine Chapel.

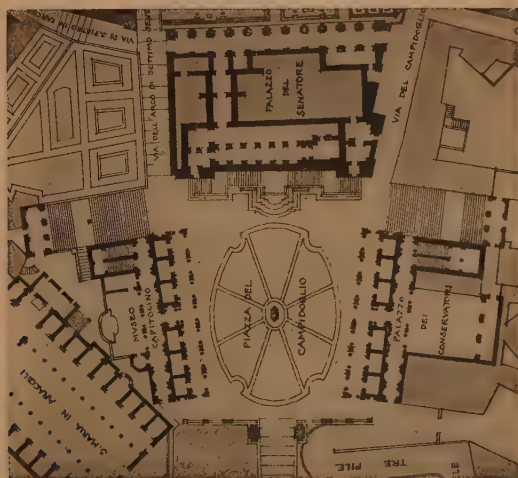
(2) It is the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli (1561) transformed later by Vanvitelli. It was part of a Carthusian monastery also refitted by Michael Angelo, and in which are gathered together to-day the collections of the National Museum.

(3) On the site of the citadel and the Temple of Juno Moneta.

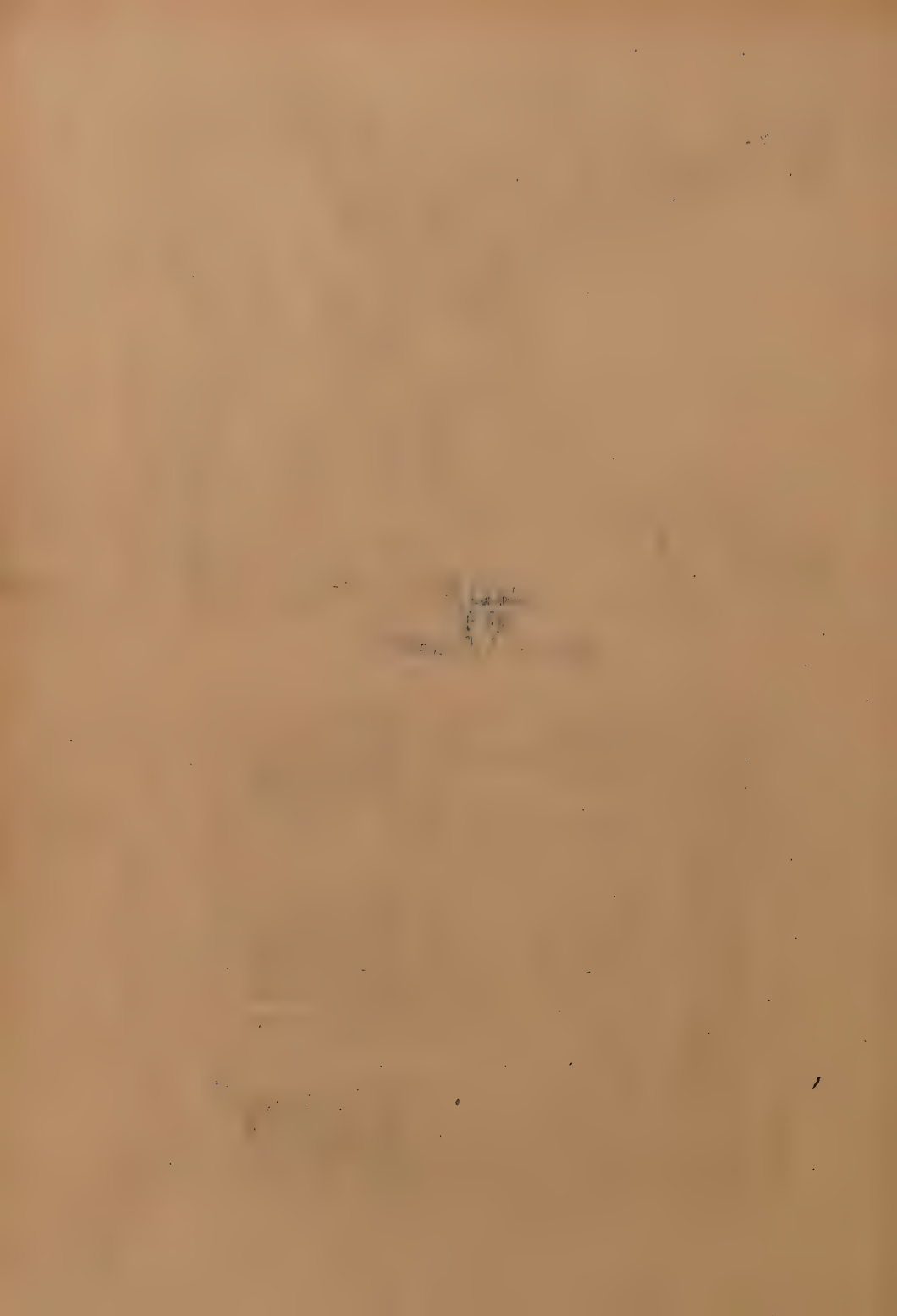
(4) To-day the Municipio.

(5) The palaces of the Conservatori occupied to-day by the museum.





THE CAPITOL, PLAN AND ELEVATION





ELEVATION OF SIDE PALACES



VIEW FACING THE ARACELI STEPS



the whole did not, at first glance, allow us to foretell the hand and will of a great master. « There is », it has been said, « even in his caprice, a decisiveness which is almost like necessity. » It is good to add that the lateral palaces were not finished until much later and that the unimaginable windows with which the central bay of their façade is *favoured* are probably an addition by Giov. del Duca.

The architecture of Michael Angelo would only have for us the interest which is attached to the minor creations of an artist of that dashing quality, if precisely the very exceptional position that he was able to make for himself in the world of art, at the end of his life, did not authorize his admirers to consider, up to a certain point, the least justifiable of his innovations, as *classic*. The models offered by simple talent are often more profitable than those of genius : genius is too personal to persuade itself very easily to be no more than a link in the uninterrupted chain of the evolution of an art. Michel Angelo, as architect, has been blamed for having paved the way, with his own hands, for the decline of the Roman Renaissance; if it is really a little too severe to say that he hastened it himself, his pupils and imitators do bear enough of this regrettable responsibility towards us.



## CHAPTER V.

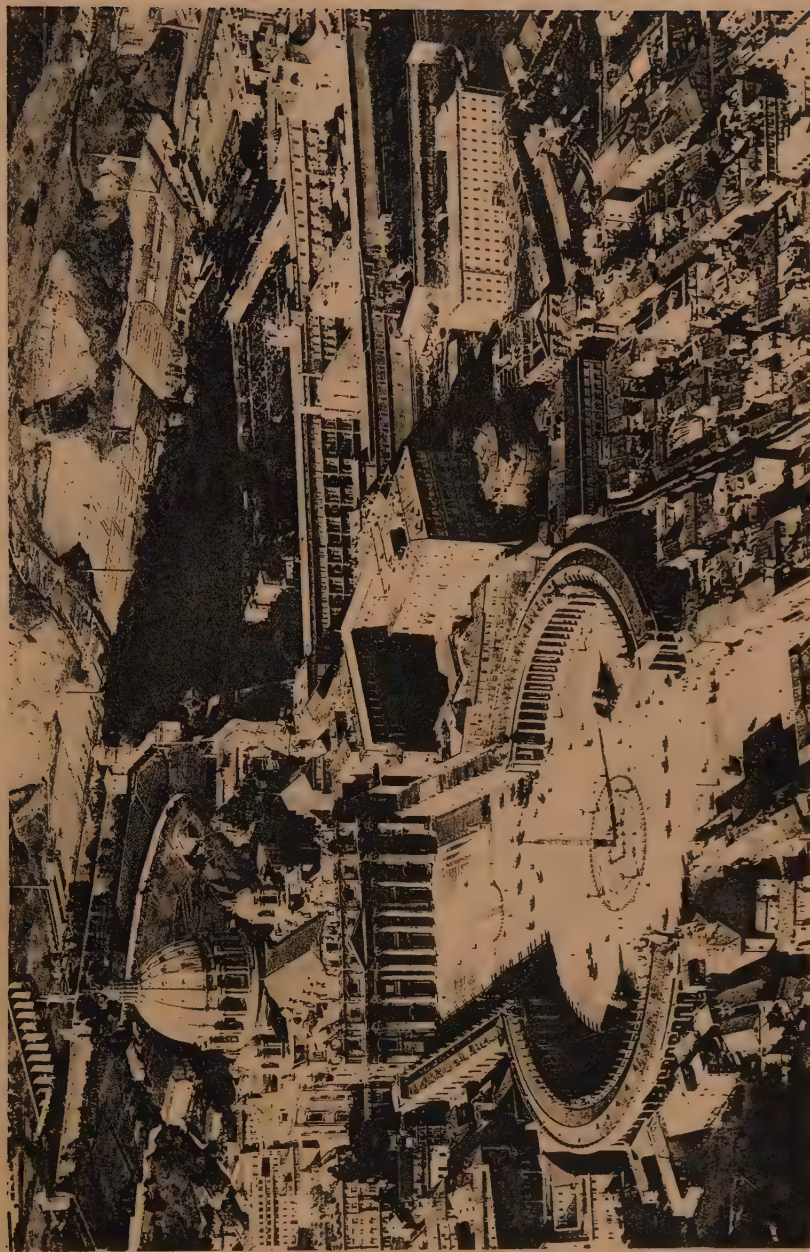
### SAINT PETER'S AT ROME

BRAMANTE'S SCHEME. — MODIFICATIONS BY RAPHAEL, PERUZZI, AND SANGALLO. — THE WORK OF MICHAEL ANGELO, VIGNOLE AND DELLA PORTA. — FACADE OF MADERNA AND COLONNADES OF BERNINI.

Here indeed is the *great work* of the Renaissance, and without doubt, the most important production of modern times. Other compositions have perhaps equalled it in grandeur or surpass it in purity of execution; but none has been so completely a résumé of the civilization of two whole centuries, nor above all, the realization, by means of novel architectural forms, of a program at once so imposing and so new. Only the harmonious *ensemble* of Versailles might be seriously compared to it. They are both works of equal interest, inspired by a similar motive, that of raising a durable monument to the glory of the papacy or of the monarchy. But the palace of Louis XIV was built a century and a half later; the Renaissance had already fixed, with its fruitful variety, the forms of the decorative elements, as well as those of the construction, and there was nothing to do but delve, in a measure, into a vast encyclopedia of motive. For the temps dreamed of by Julius II, even the plan remained to be created.

To begin with, St. Peter's is something more than a church; it is not right to judge it as such. It is an immense *Basilica*, in the Latin sense of the word, a place of reunion for a host of pilgrims, a waiting hall for the whole of Christendom. Mass is not thought of, except as said at the high

ROME



S. PETER AND THE VATICAN  
BIRD'S EYE VIEW



altar where the pope alone comes to officiate on certain occasions, with a great display of ritual, pomp and brilliance. There exist infact twenty-eight minor altars where the ceremonies of the cult are performed as everywhere; there is also that interminable line of confessionals, where beautiful latin inscriptions indicate that, at any hour, one may make one's confession, in almost every known language... But it seems that this church furniture is only there as a necessary accessory to a consecrated place, and that the whole aim in view, is to make the traveller, the pilgrin, come sometimes from afar, understand that, there, can be the meeting place of all the Catholics of the earth, and that, there, they ought to feel at home. Then, too, it is not a question of seclusion: it is a meeting place for enthusiastic crowds who, only a few years ago, greeted there Pope Leo XIII with long and furious acclamations.

Perhaps the Imperial Forums and their great Basilicas, in the first centuries of our era, aimed also at giving to passing strangers, to colonists of the Roman provinces, the impression of the clearly established power, and the everlasting reign, it seemed, of an empire capable of asserting itself in works so durable and so beautiful. Bramante was hardly mistaken; and it was the Basilica of Constantine which seemed to him, from the first, the proper monument from which to draw his inspiration.

The original Basilica of St. Peter, the foundations of which probably date back to the fourth century, was a wood-roofed church, with a nave and double aisles (1). This edifice, erected on the site of the circus of Nero, where so many Christians had suffered martyrdom, was found, toward the middle of the fifteenth century, to be in a rather disquieting state. Nicolas V resolved to reconstruct it on a similar plan (2), but the work was hardly begun, when it

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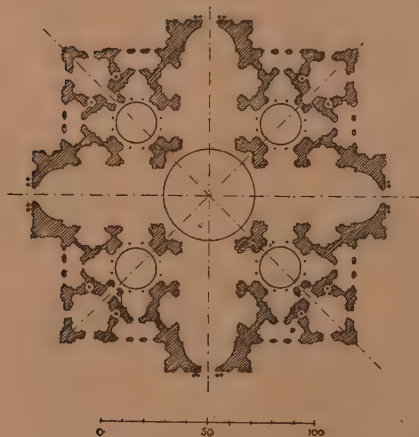
(1) Like San Paolo without the walls. Raphael reproduced the façade of the old church in his fresco of the « *Burning of the Borgo* ».

(2) This plan was ordered to Rossellino.

was interrupted until the first years of the following century. It is rather curious to notice that, if Julius II did decide almost immediately to recommence the construction on entirely new lines, it was, in the first place, because even the choir of the ancient church was hardly big enough to shelter the vast tomb with which he had just commissioned Michael Angelo. Plans were then asked for from various well-known artists; those of Bramante were judged the best and the first stone of the edifice was solemnly laid, April 18th 1506.

The original plan of St. Peter's from Bramante's own

hand, is still preserved in Florence (1). It is a design of modest dimensions, in which only one part of the building is clearly indicated in detail; on that yellowed sheet of paper, which one cannot look at without emotion, the thought of the architect, none the less, is expressed in the most precise way: the St. Peter's of Bramante was to be a greek Cross (2),



*Bramante's plan for S. Peter's.*

ending at each extremity in an apse, and of which no façade is particularly distinguished from the other three. « I wish », the great artist had said, « to erect the dome of the Pantheon on the vaults of the temple of Peace », and something of this daring conception, in reality, was to remain. Two vast barrel vaulted naves, supported

(1) At the Uffizi.

(2) That is to say, with all arms equal.





S. PETER AND THE VATICAN, GROUND PLAN



at their meeting the pendentives of a central dome; four smaller domes were to supplement it at the angles of an ambulatory running round the piers. Finally campaniles were to be erected at the extremities. As regards this composition of Bramante, simple, clear, masterly, one can hardly blame him for anything, except an over-lightness in the *points*, for the actual piers of the dome, increased for the last time by Michael Angelo, and which have nothing exaggerated about them (1), cover a surface almost *three times* greater than those of the original design. The latter, moreover, was not to be carried very far: Bramante and Julius II died within a few months of each other (2), and the disappearance of the master marked for his chief work the beginning of a period of hesitancy, of alterations and transformations, from which it emerged, brilliant still, but considerably lessened.

In 1513, a year before his death, Bramante, whose health was already very precarious, had been given collaborators who certainly seemed to offer the surest guarantees: Giuliano da Sangallo, Fra Giocondo of Verona, and finally Raphael were to carry on his work. But the first two died in 1515 and 1516 respectively, while Raphael himself survived them but by a short time (3). In spite of the respect that he should have shown for his uncle, he none the less proposed a totally different Basilican plan, which retained, to a certain extent, the choir begun by Bramante. This plan of Raphael's was not, however, without merit, and it is certain that, had his church been built, it would have produced an excellent effect.



Sketch of Raphael's plan.

(1) They are, however, 70 meters in circumference, 213 feet.

(2) Julius II in 1513, Bramante in 1514.

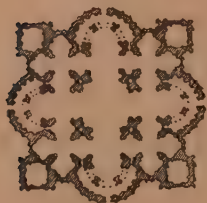
(3) Raphael died in 1520.

From 1520 to 1536, it was Baldassare Peruzzi who was charged with the task of continuing the work. While consolidating the piers, Peruzzi strove to go back to the plan of the greek Cross: he furnished a scheme in which Raphael's apse was reproduced almost textually, but the ensemble of which approached very near to Bramante's plan strengthened. Let us recall that, beginning with 1527, the capture and

sack of Rome arrested for a long period the progress of all sort of work. What seems inconceivable is that, in spite of everything, the city recovered so quickly from such a calamity (1).

Further modifications were proposed by Antonio da Sangallo. It was he who, in 1536 succeeded Peruzzi, but his intervention scarcely left any traces in the existing monument. There has been kept at St. Peter's itself a wooden model of his project: the principal part was far from being a composition without merit, if the addition of an embryonic nave, rather badly joined to the Greek cross, did not rob the general scheme of much of its frankness and decision. It was Sangallo who gave to the pillars of the dome their present importance, and who determined the interior arrangement of the three apses.

He died in 1546. We have said that, at this epoch, Paul III entrusted the superintendence of his buildings to



*Sketch of Peruzzi's plan.*



*Sketch of Sangallo's plan.*

(1) It was Clement VII who witnessed that disaster. In particular, the tapestries with which Raphael was commissioned by Leo X, to decorate the wall of the Sistine Chapel, disappeared at that time. When they were unearthed twenty-five years later, it was found that the gold and silver embroidery, with which they had been enriched, had been removed thread by thread.

Michael Angelo, then seventy-two years old. In spite of his great age, the master was to consecrate to the completion of St. Peter's eighteen years more of life and of real activity. It may be said that it is above all to him that the monument owes the aspect which we know to-day. His first care was to return deliberately to the symmetrical plan of Bramante, and he did not depart from it indeed, save in the importance of the decorative elements. After having strengthened for the last time, the piers of the great dome, he turned his attention to determining the exterior architecture of the apses with their orders of Corinthian pilasters. He has often been blamed for the dimension of this order. It contributes, however, to the beautiful effect which the monument produces, when one looks at it from the side opposite the entrance. The drum of the dome, likewise executed by Michael Angelo is, in this case, no longer masked by the nave of Maderna, and one has an impression of a whole which, except for a few details, doubtless does not differ much from what Bramante had conceived. Everything which concerns the construction of the dome (*Pl.* 51) is also the work of Michael Angelo's old age. He did not see its completion, but he at least left all the drawings necessary for its execution.

From 1564 to 1585, Vignola, who succeeded him, hardly worked on anything but the secondary domes, which are pure in detail, but which matter little in the general effect. It was his pupil, Giacomo della Porta, who, during the five years of the pontificate of Sixtus V (1) carried out the exterior dome (slightly modifying, Michael Angelo's designs), to give it that unique curve, the mathematical trace of which has been sought in vain, and which, above all, contributes to making that part of the edifice one of the most perfect examples which have ever been conceived and carried out.

For some fifteen years, under Clement VIII, the conti-

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(1) From 1585 to 1590.



ning of the work was all that was done: nothing very interesting was then undertaken; but the election of Paul V (Borghese), was to introduce, in 1605 a modification of considerable importance. We can reckon only with difficulty what the façade of Michael Angelo was worth; it is unlikely that it escaped, with its colossal order, one of the faults of Maderna's elevation: the absolute lack of scale. But, at least, it would not have hidden the dome. One would have had, from the Piazza San Pietro, the same effect which to-day, we can only see in the rear façade. Paul V, finding that the plan did not thoroughly meet with the requirements of the ceremonies, decided to lengthen the nave into a latin cross, and to add a vestibule at the entrance (1605-1612). (1)

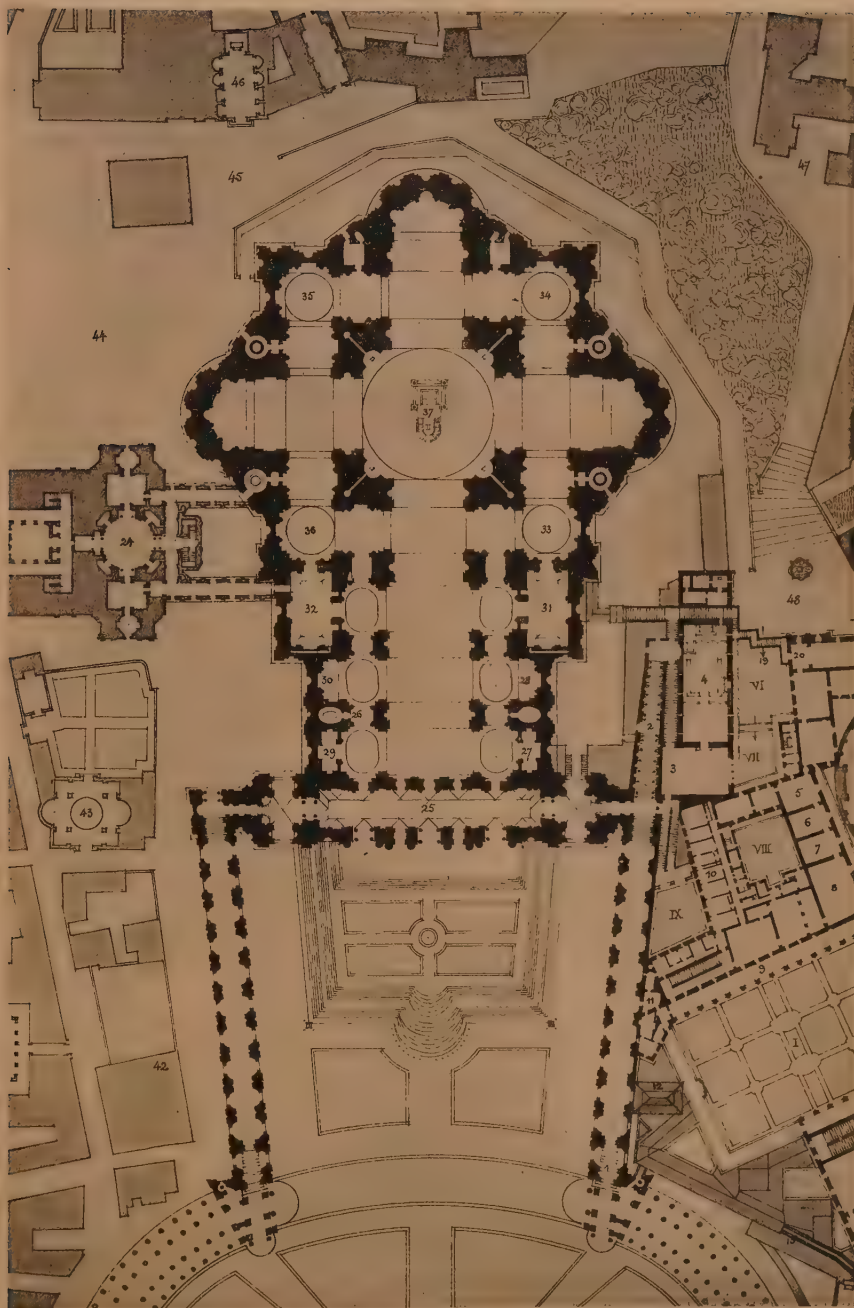
The plan is arranged cleverly enough (Pl. 49) and the vestibule decorated with a beautiful coved ceiling, is a worthy introduction to the Basilica. The façade, on the contrary, is devoid of all interest. Composed of elements without purity, indicating in no way, by the dimensions of its openings nor its horizontal lines of division, the structure of a building to which it does not seem to belong, it unfortunately justifies, to a certain extent, the violent critics from whom the whole building has not escaped, — by giving them at least a pretext.

Finally, from 1629 to 1667, Lorenzo Bernini, was charged with the task of creating in front of St. Peter's, a square worthy of the greatest church in the world. The architect, as variable an architect as a sculptor (2), was this time marvellously inspired. The quadruple colonnade which

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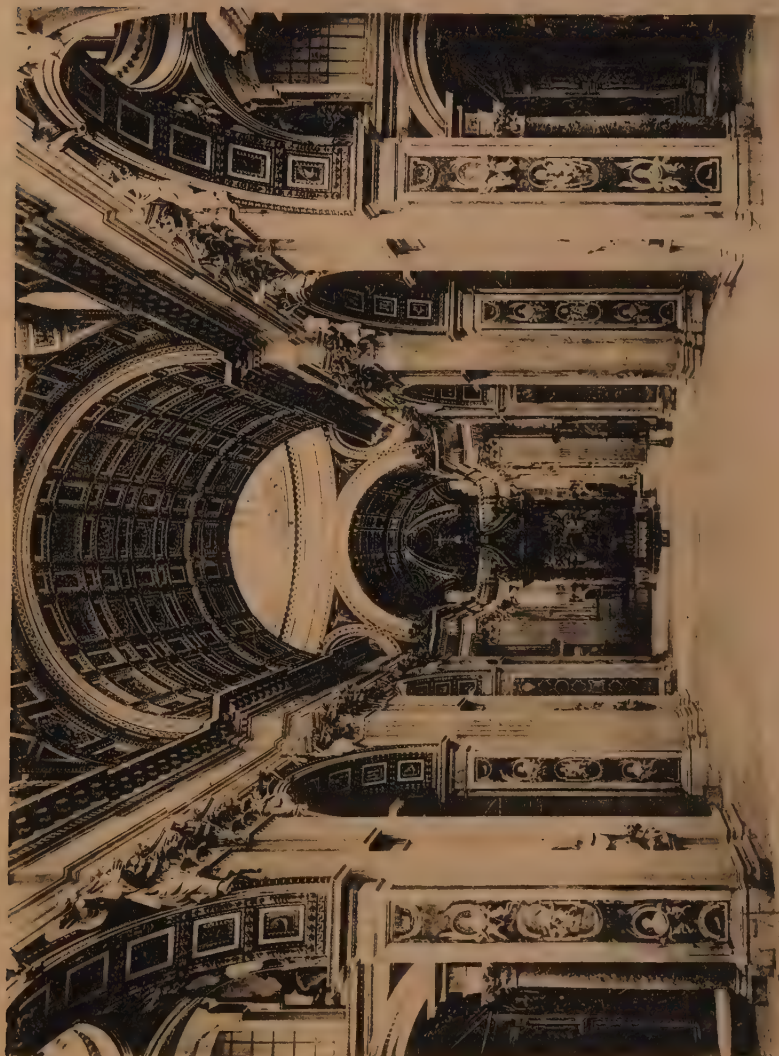
(1) The edifice was consecrated by Urban VIII, the 18th of novembre 1626. one hundred and twenty years after it was begun. Twenty popes had succeeded Julius II and ten architects had directed the work.

(2) How can one imagine, indeed, that the sculptor of the Santa Teresa of Santa Maria della Vittoria was the sculptor of *Marcus Curtius* as well, that equestrian statue of Louis XIV, weofully relegated by the king to the end of the Pièce d'eau des Suisses, at Versailles? Even in St. Peter's, how compare the beautiful monument of Urban VIII with the baroque and disconcerting fancies of the *Thrope of St. Peter*, or the tomb of Alexander VII? The high altar of the Basilica, with its four twisted columns is also by Bernini; it helps to rob the whole of its scale.



PLAN OF THE BASILICA





*Cliché Broglé.*

INTERIOR OF S. PETER





precedes the church with the double movement of its enclosure of porticoes, has quite all the simplicity, all the amplitude, which one has the right to expect from such a composition. If the façade of the church, crowned by its admirable dome, would have been quite sufficient, the monument preceeded by its *atrium*, would doubtless have left far behind the pompous decoration of the imperial forums. The nobility of the square and the beauty of the dome succeed, however, in lessening the unfortunate effect of the façade and it must be acknowledged that the *ensemble* of the composition, under the midday sun, as well as in the evening light, still produces a strong impression.

To tell the truth, what we then see is no longer the work of the pure Renaissance. The dome alone can be said to belong still to the high Roman period. Even the vestibule, with its vault so superbly decorated, dates from the first years of the seventeenth century. One must go in, under the barrel vault of the nave, and walk slowly as far as the dome, to seize Bramante's conception and to get an idea of the real value of the monument. It has always been bitterly disputed. St. Peter's has been criticised for not having that atmosphere of quiet meditation as much as certain smaller and more sombre churches. We said, at the beginning, that this was not in reality a church; it is, if one likes, an ancient basilica, a relic of Imperial Rome crowned by a dome which the Romans would not have known how to create. The colossal monument has also been blamed for lacking the elements necessary to make its size appreciated; and if one applies oneself to the actual measurements of the building, one is certainly not struck as one could have been, at first sight, by the enormousness of its proportions. Is that a very important point? So many authors have informed us of the exact measurement of St. Peter's that we wish, from the very threshold, to receive the impression of great size which we expect of it. Must it be deduced that the most beautiful works are just those which seem to us, when we see them, larger than we had imagined them? Most of the time, we are more naïve in our judgements; we know only by

contact the dimension of things, and doubtless, we are right to judge them simply according to the pleasure we experience.

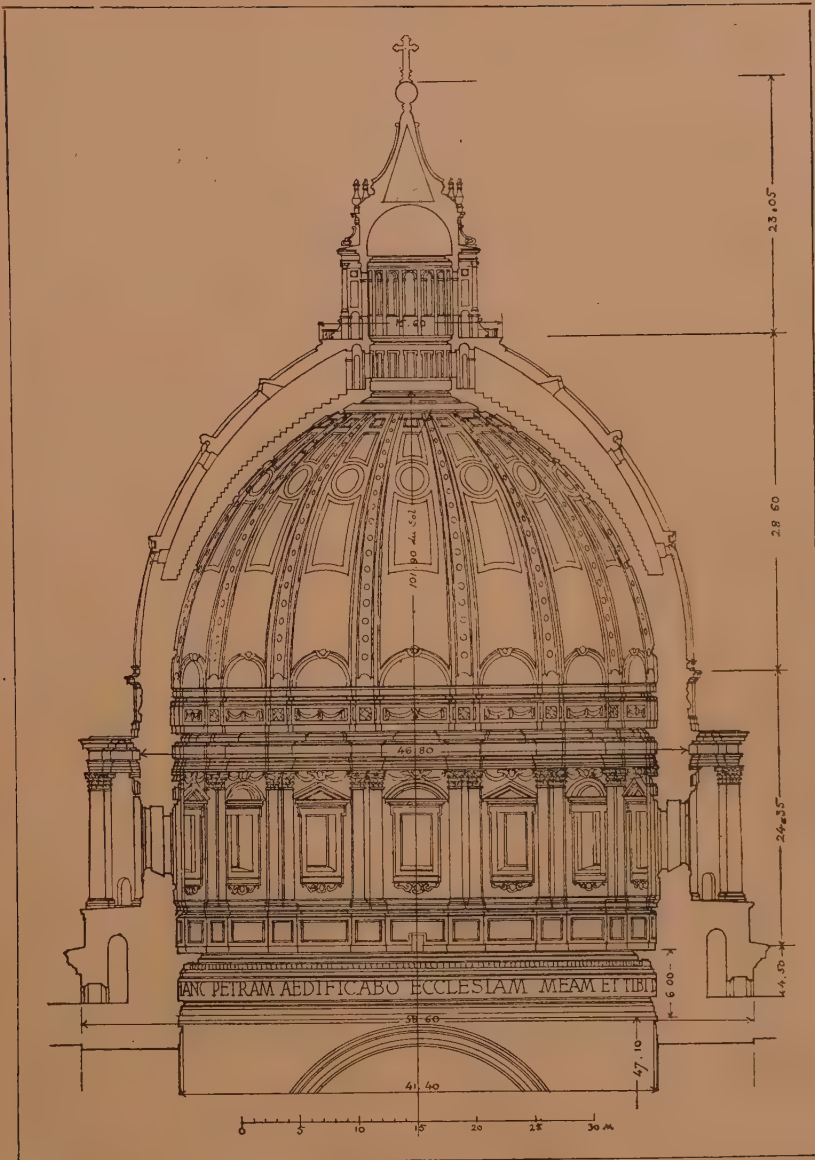
If one takes separately certain details of sculpture which belong to the late epoch when the decoration was completed, the beautiful proportion of the nave, the simplicity of the arrangement, the harmonious disposition of the great vaults, finally the effects of perspective produced at the approach to the dome, of which the aerial decoration has kept the desirable scale, everything contributes to an impression of *ensemble*, of which no other building can give even an idea.

The interior of St. Peter's is perfectly worthy, both of the thought which directed its conception, and of the masters who successively strove to realize it. To appreciate it, one must recall the great examples of antique architecture, the Baths, the Basilicas, the spirit of which forced itself more or less on the interpretation of such a vast program; one must also, in order to judge that work of the Renaissance, decide before hand not to be astonished that, in this case, only purely Roman elements were employed.

St. Peter's is no more *Notre-Dame* than it is the *Parthenon*, and the great merit of each of those monuments, all three admirable, is precisely in having succeeded in interpreting in such a different and characteristic way, according to the beliefs and sentiments of three peoples, a unique idea, which during more than twenty centuries, moreover, has dominated architecture, and with architecture, all Art. (1).

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(1) The area of St. Peter's comes to more than 15,000 square meters; (that of Notre-Dame does not reach 6,000). The length of the church, overall, is 211 meters. The nave, 27 meters wide, attains a height of 46. The diameter of the dome is 42 meters, which is just about the size of the Dome of the Pantheon at Rome.



SECTION OF S. PETER'S CUPOLA



## CHAPTER VI.

### INFLUENCE OF THE ROMAN RENAISSANCE IN VENETIA

THE WORK OF SAN MICHELI AT VERONA. — THE GRIMANI  
PALACE AT VENICE. — THE WORK OF SANSOVINO.

The influence of the Roman high Renaissance was naturally considerable. It must however be noted, that the brilliant reigns of Leo X and Julius II had more the effect of attracting to Rome artists of value, than to make the other cities of Italy profit, afterwards, by the recent progress accomplished there. It was thus that Florence was more or less forsaken. The whole artistic movement seems to have followed to Rome the fortune of the Medici, and very few interesting structures in Tuscany date from the first half of the cinquecento (1).

Venice, on the contrary, which had rather violent quarrels with the papacy, remained completely outside that attempt at centralisation; as a result of the siege of Rome, numerous artists took refuge there, and it was in Venetia that Sanmicheli, Sansovino and his pupils, came to create, during more than a century, successive schools, whose influence will be as important, at least, in Europe, as in the Roman metropolis.

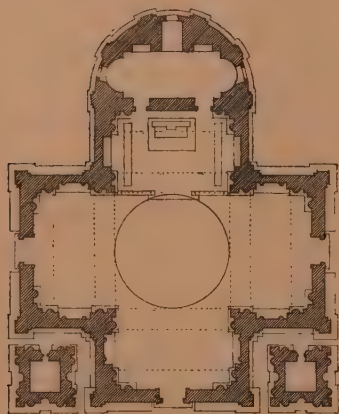
At Todi and Montepulciano, in the pontifical states, two religious edifices built during the first twenty years of the century demand, however, our attention. They are two studies of that problem which we have already pointed

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(1) If we except of course, the work of the Florentine, Roman by adoption, of whom we have spoken before, and one or two constructions such as the Bartoloni Palace and the beautiful Mercato Nuovo of Bernardo del Tasso (1541) (*Pl.* 68).



out, and which so much interested the artists of the period:

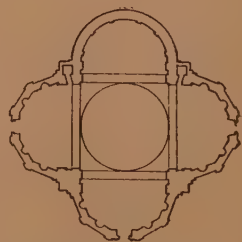


Church at Montepulciano.

the church in the form of the greek cross, with a dome over the crossing. An interesting solution had been proposed by Giuliano da Sangallo in his *Madonna delle Carceri* at Prato (Pl. 7). His brother, Antonio da Sangallo the Elder, only improved the disposition in his church of Montepulciano (1518). The drum is elevated to better disengage the dome and the two free standing campaniles (of which only one was completed) finish the whole.

The interior has remained very similar to the other.

At Todi, the church of the Consolazione (1508) attributed to Cola da Caproralà, was conceived a bit differently, the equal branches of the cross here constitute four large apses, the vaults of which support the central part whence emerges the drum, surmounted by a dome of beautiful proportion. It is a work of the best period, full of breadth and distinction; it has sometimes been attributed to Bramante, like so many other buildings, but perhaps Peruzzi collaborated on it somewhat.



Consolazione, Todi, plan.

The great Sanmicheli was born in 1484, in a small village near Verona. From the age of sixteen, he worked at Rome, and distinguished himself by his zealous study of ancient





PALAZZO GRIMANI

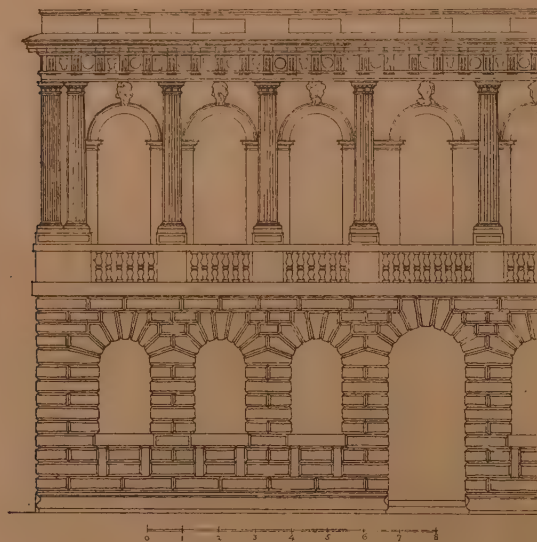
*Cliché Naya*

monuments. Thus it happened that he made his start in the estates of the church, notably at Orvieto, where for some time, he directed the work on the cathedral, and at Montefiascone, on the road from Viterbo, where he built the never completed church of Santa Margarita with its octagonal dome. He soon entered the service of the pope, being employed exclusively on the fortifications of his domains; Sanmicheli thus acquired a reputation in the practice of military architecture which made him almost universally sought after, and which led him to accept subsequently the offers of the Republic of Venice. At Murano, on the Lido, he had rather important works to execute, but it was at Verona, his native city, that he found occasion to display all his resources. Incorporated in the fortifications of the city, the Porta Nuova in particular, and the *Porta del Palio*, erected in the year 1524, showed his fellow-citizens that he was, at least, not incapable of successfully attempting civil or domestic architecture. He then built the Palazzo Canossa, the *Bevilacqua* (1520) and the *Pompei* (1530). In each of the two latter, the story that serves as base is expressed by rustication, perhaps under the inspiration of the lowest order of the Roman amphitheatre at Verona (Pl. 54).

The Bevilacqua Palace, more delicate and richer, boasts an order in pairs similar to the rhythmic bay in the manner of Bramante. The upper story, a work of great elegance, presents a motive much like that which, thirteen years later, was adopted by Sansovino for the *Loggetta* of the Campanile at Venice (Pl. 59). Stronger and simpler, the Pompei Palace is one of the buildings of the Renaissance which seem the most directly inspired by the ruins of Roman monuments. Its dignified Doric order is studied with a grace and obvious facility which will only be found again in the compositions of Palladio.

None the less, in spite of the many constructions with which Sanmicheli adorned his native city, it is not to Verona that one goes to see his masterpiece, but to Venice, at the side of the Grand Canal, where rises, imposing and sump-

tuous, the admirable *Grimani Palace* (Pl. 52). Perhaps no other edifice gives better than this, the idea of what Renaissance architecture can be. In this majestic composition, there is not a detail, not an impost, not a moulding, which is not inspired from the antique; the disposition of the elements, the superposition of the orders, everything is borrowed from the most beautiful roman compositions, and yet where is the Roman monument that could reveal to the

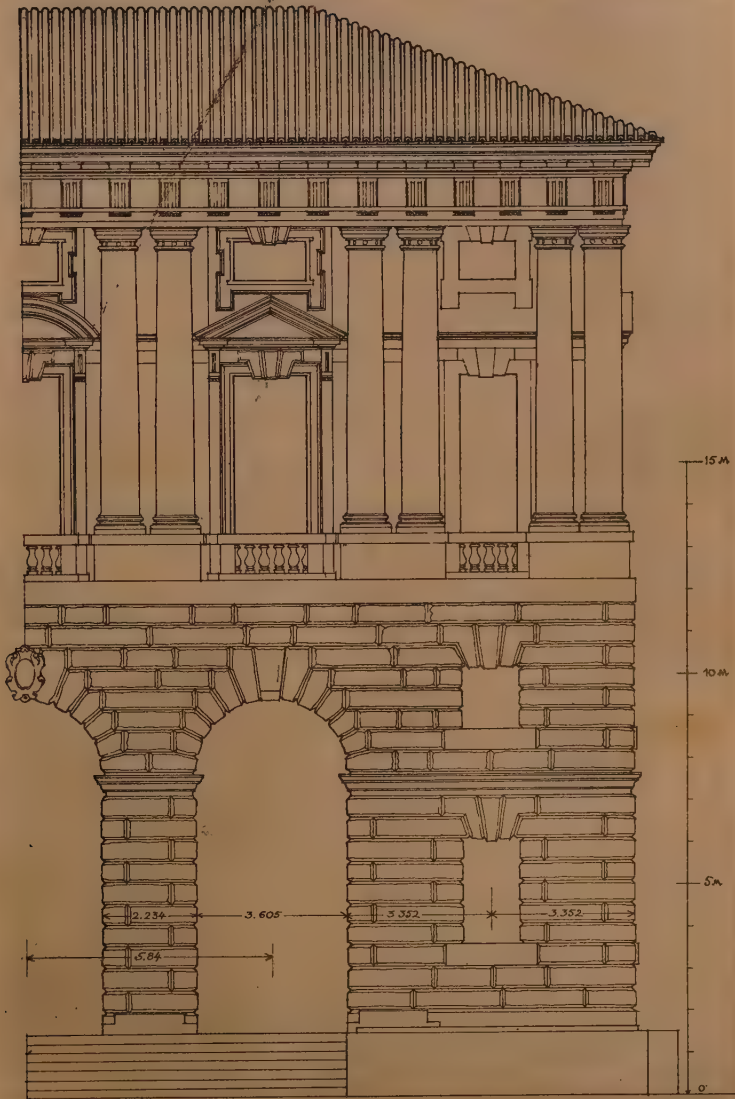


*Pompei Palace.*

architect the secret of so much power, so much richness, so much distinction? Sanmicheli rises here to the heights of a Bramante or of a Brunelleschi; in seeking simply to copy, he displayed creative genius. This façade although thoroughly personal, takes none the less in its grand lines the form habitual to Venitian residences. If one believes Burckhardt, this palace greatly surpasses the Venitian manner, «realises that very expression of *fête* and fantasy which the architecture of the *Canale* demands». According to him, the lower



VERONA



*Relevé de M. Galli,*

THE GRAN' GUARDIA VECCHIA

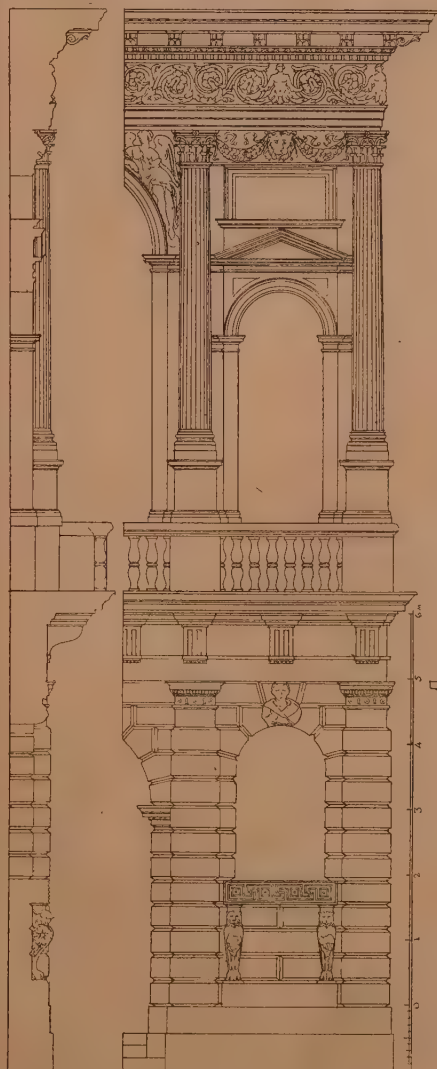


ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

PALAIS BEVILACQUA

A VÉRONE, SANMICHELI, 1527

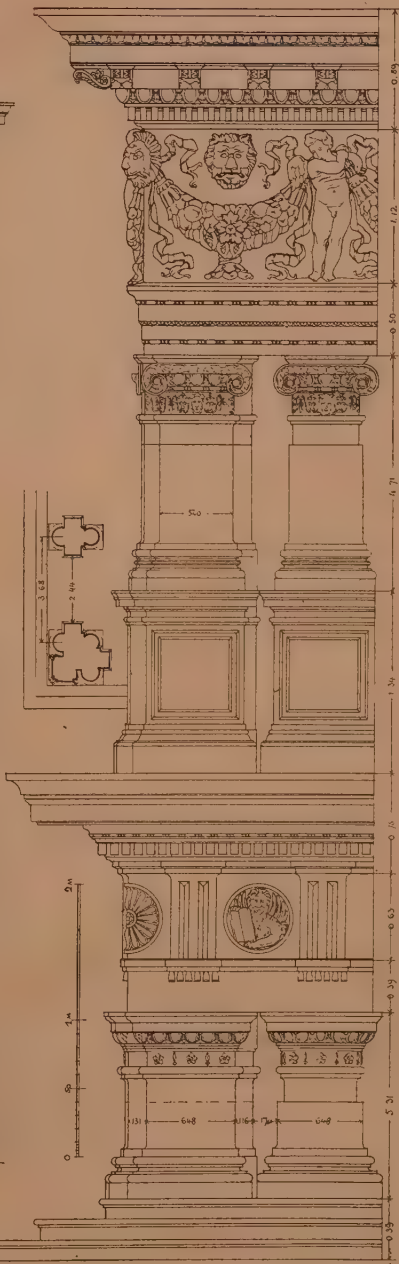
DETAIL D'UNE TRAVÉE RYTHMIQUE



A DROITE : LIBRAIRIE VIEILLE

A VENISE, J. SANSOVINO, 1536

DETAIL DE LA TRAVÉE D'ANGLE





gallery is the only one in all Venice, « which has a real dignity. If one is really considering only basements, Longhena, a century later, designed some very beautiful ones (1). But he does not know as well as Sanmicheli how to superpose his stories in such thorough harmony with the whole. The palace, which time has respected in covering it with a beautiful patina, is surely one of the strongest works of this period. Surrounded by less striking constructions, it is a veritable lesson. After the fashion of masters such as Peruzzi or Sangallo, who with their recollections of Tuscany, created the characteristic Roman Palace, the great Veronese architect shows us here plainly how the Roman manner could amplify and ennoble the century-old type of the Venitian Palace.

It is at Verona that one finds the last works of Sanmicheli. He began in 1557 a domical church, the *Madonna di Campagna*, in the little suburban village of Sanmichele which has the honour of being his birthplace. He built in the same year the *Capella Pellegrini*, in the church of San Bernardino, a composition of purity, thoroughly studied in detail, and which presents a solution rather complicated for a circular chapel, but certainly very classical.

Sanmicheli died in 1569, but his spirit lived on and manifested itself in the chief work of one of his relatives and pupils, Domenico Curtoni : the Palace of the *Gran' Guardia Vecchia* (1609). Here is a work of considerable merit, powerfully characterized and which has a striking effect. We will not go so far as to say that it is almost unknown in France, but it is surely not fully appreciated as a municipal edifice of such allure and such frankness of *parti* (Pl. 53),

Shall we resume our ideas of the work of Sanmicheli ? He possessed in a high degree the manifold qualities which make the great architect. His knowledge of the antique and of the masters who preceded him was unusually wide, and his works of military art and fortifications were the

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(1) Those of the Pesaro and Rezzonico Palaces (1650) (Pl. 78).



pretext which allowed him to acquire the distinctive mark of personality. He was furthermore self confident; a learned judge has remarked that, of the same age as Raphael, and having, like him, felt the influence of Bramante, « he perhaps realised in architecture what Raphael, would have done, had he lived longer ». This implies granting Sanmicheli a finesse, a sensitiveness, a refinement of power, of which he actually often gave proof; doubtless, no praise would have been dearer to him, none more justified.

Like Sanmicheli, the celebrated architect and sculptor Sansovino, whose productions dominated Venitian art for twenty years (1) commenced his career at Rome. Jacopo Tatti, born in Tuscany in 1477, took the name of Sansovino simply to honour the memory of his master (2), the able Florentine sculptor Andrea Sansovino (1460-1529), to whom we owe, in particular, the superb tombs of the cardinals Della Rovere and Sforza, in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo (3). With the aid of his advice and encouragement, he rapidly became a sculptor of rare merit, for it is probable that he was, in his time, the only one who could, in any way whatsoever, rival the great Michael Angelo; even Vasari admits it, and his word may be accepted, if we remember his habitual partiality for the master he loved. But it appears that, from the very beginning, and doubtless because he was employed by Bramante, he was interested in archi-

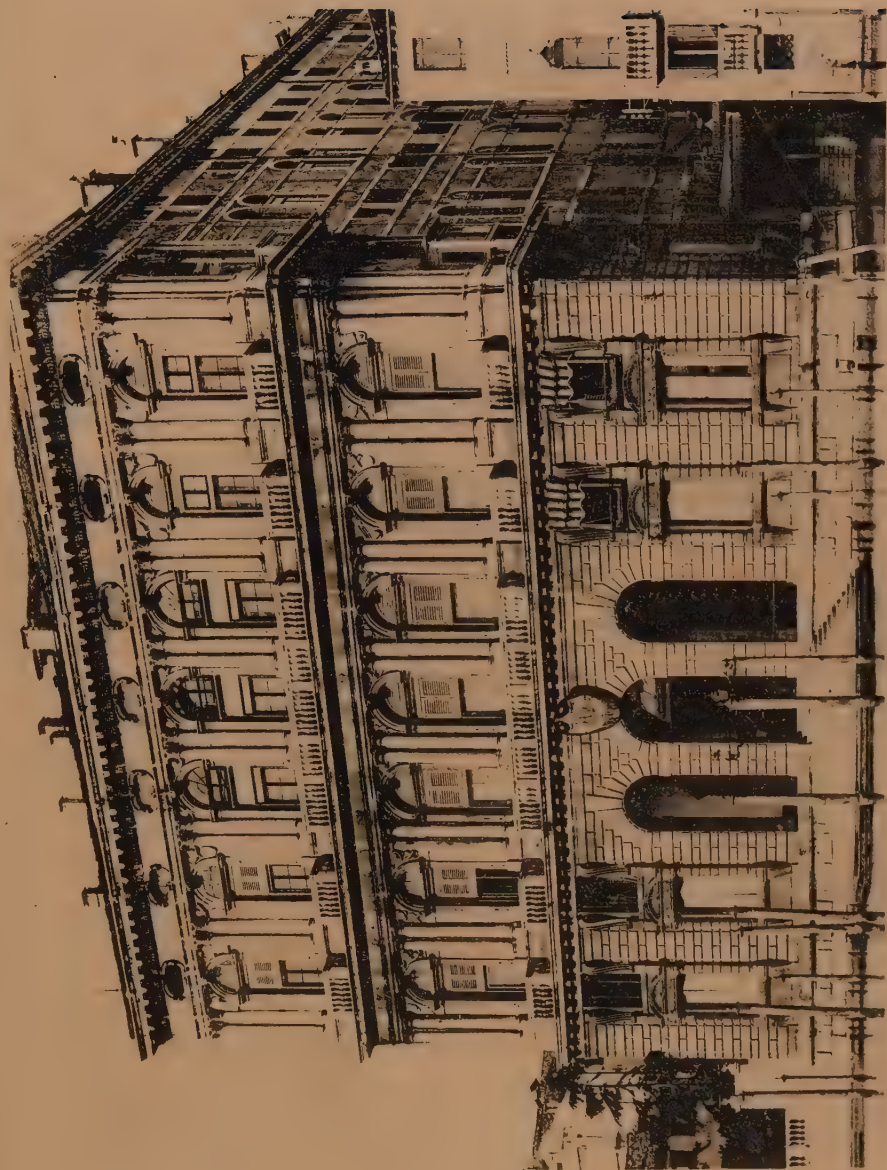
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(1) From 1530-1550. Sansovino at that time had at Venice a reputation equal to that of Titian, who was born in the same year as he, but who lived 99 years.

(2) In France, J. Hardouin took the name of Mansart for a similar reason.

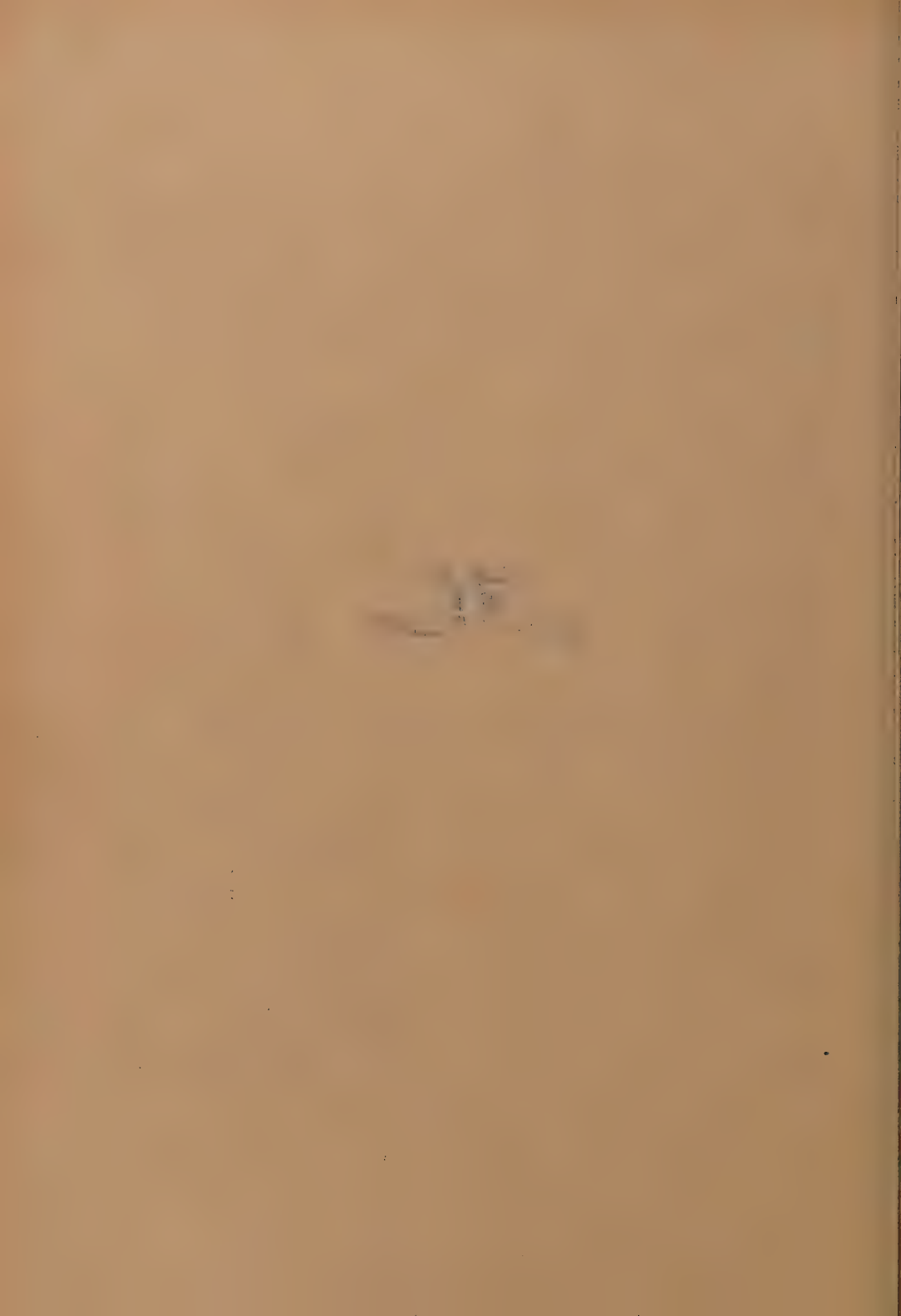
(3) These tombs which date from 1505 and 1507, were erected by the order of Julius II. The Cardinal Ascanio Sforza was son of the Duke of Milan; and the pope had with him rather sharp misunderstandings. Nevertheless, he dedicated the monument to him with the inscription: « In remembrance of his virtues and forgetting his offences... » « Contentionum oblitus ». All the pride of the pope is in those two words.

VENICE

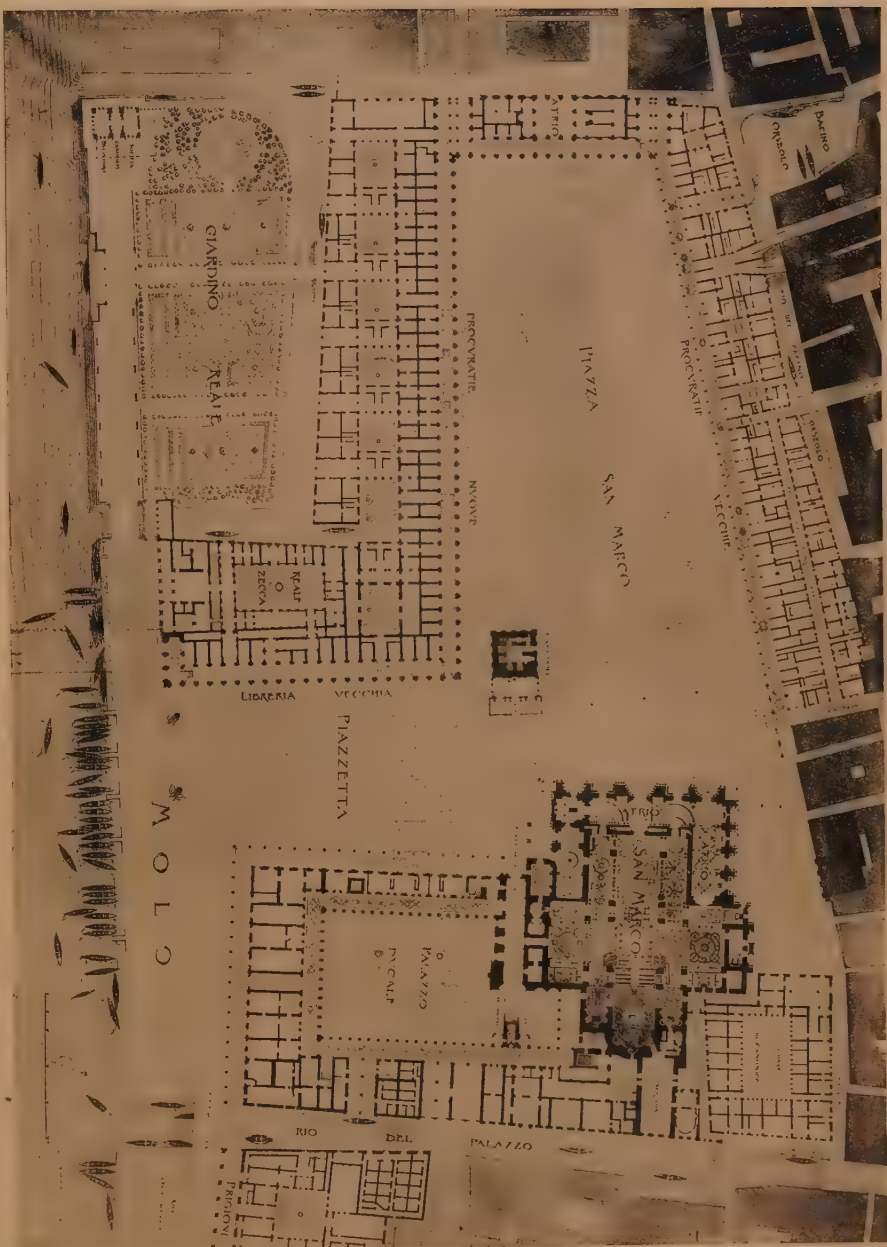


*Cliché Allart*

PALAZZO CORNER DELLA CA' GRANDE



VENICE



PLAN OF THE BUILDINGS OF S. MARK'S SQUARE





VENICE



BIRD'S EYE VIEW TAKEN FROM THE S. GIORGIO MAGGIORE CAMPANILE



ture, since he proposed in 1516 to Pope Leo X, a scheme for the completion of San Lorenzo. Michael Angelo's plans were preferred to his as well as to Raphael's, but he had better luck when there was talk of erecting in Rome, not far from the Sant'Angelo bridge, the church of the Florentines (1). Among his works, one may mention at Rome, the interior of San Marcello which had had to be reconstructed in 1519, and the Palace (2) built about 1520 for Giovanni Gaddi, protector and friend of the artist.

The capture of Rome in 1527, made Sansovino decide to seek at Venice a quieter home. The moment was well chosen; instantly appreciated, he had the chance, in a few years, to build there a large number of important monuments.

One has to admit that, in our time, the most diverse judgments have been rendered on Sansovino as architect. Author of several very famous buildings, and notably of that *Libreria Vecchia* which has always passed for one of the greatest works of the Renaissance, he has yet not escaped criticisms and that sometimes very severe. « It is only with hesitation », says Burckhardt, « that I range Sansovino among the great architects of the best period. All the other artists of this groupe took their inspiration freely and grandly from the inherent necessities of their problems. Jacopo, on the contrary, who had passed the first half of his life amidst the most sublime monuments of Rome and of Florence, and who, besides, had studied under Bramante, subsequently a mere factotum of Venice, inclined himself to all the fancies and all the caprices of the early Renaissance in that city, and busied himself in making them immortal. » (3) Doubtless, Sansovino is to be judged with a little more indulgence. A sculptor of great talent, he often let the thought of decorative elements, friezes, bas-

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(1) Sansovino was in competition this time, with Raphael, Sangallo, and Peruzzi. The church was carried on by Sangallo, Michael Angelo, Della Porta. The façade, of 1734, is by Galilei.

(2) Palazzo Niccolini.

(3) Il Cicerone.

reliefs, or statues, take precedence over that of pure proportion. But there is so much charm in these buildings in which the artist's hand reveals itself in the choice of mouldings as in the smallest sculptured ornaments, that we can easily forgive the author of so many pleasing works, a few weaknesses.

His first large construction at Venice, was the Palazzo Corner (1), which dates from 1532. Some think that it is « the last work of the artist in which there is the Roman feeling of proportion »; others, such as Vasari, go to the point of calling it « the most splendid palace in Italy ». Still others think, with Ruskin, that it is one of the coldest and worst buildings of the middle of the Renaissance. It is only fair to say that Ruskin is not very indulgent towards the Renaissance in general, of which the least fault in his eyes is, no doubt, that it was Catholic and Latin (2). But the Palazzo Corner (*Pl.* 55) is far from being a work of first rank; here, there seems to be no relation between the basement and the upper stories; the cornice crushes the uppermost order and the *ensemble* actually does not lack coldness. The corner windows of the lowest story, however, form an interesting motive, quite appropriate to a Venitian façade.

It was in 1536 that Sansovino produced his masterpiece, that Library of St. Mark's (*Pl.* 58), which, with the Loggia of the Campanile, gave its author a universal reputation and rank among the rare architects whose names have become familiar to some enlightened amateurs. Not even the Library has escaped some criticisms; but the monument can defend itself. If the motive of the windows of the « bel étage » (3) is a little complicated for a distance between axes of less than 13 feet, if the height of the balustrades helps to make noticeable here a fault *in scale*, the brilliant

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(1) This is the one which is called Corner *della Ca' Grande*.

(2) The Grimani Palace, however, found grace in his eyes. There is not a false note, he says, not a doubtful proportion from top to bottom of its noble façade.

(3) One may remark that this story presents, thirteen years before the Basilica at Vicenza, the motive known as the « Palladian motive ».

VENICE

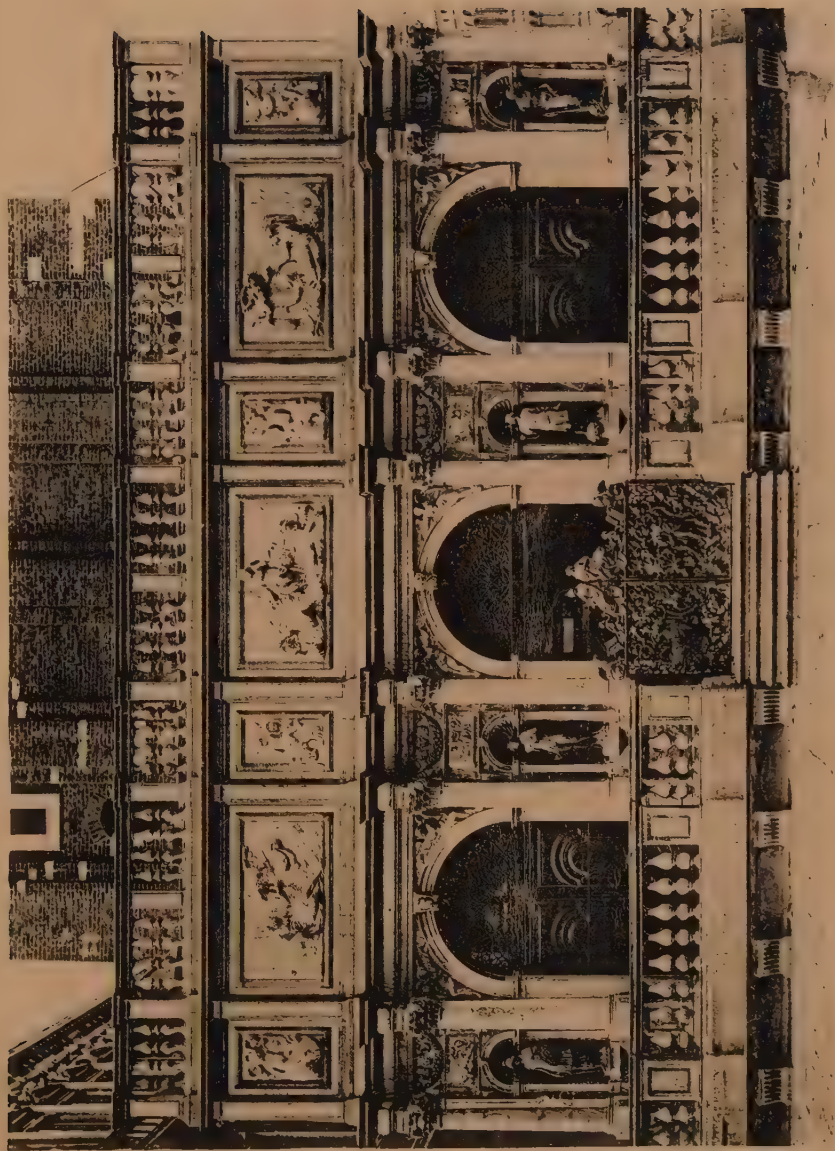


ANGLE OF THE LIBRERIA VECCHIA





VENICE



THE CAMPANILE'S LOGGIA



arrangement of the main entablature, with its admirable frieze (1), the beautiful proportion of the lower order, the happy adjustment of the corners (2), finally and above all, the grand effect of the whole, make it, justly, one of the best known and most highly appreciated of the secular buildings of the Renaissance (see detail Pl. 54).

In the same year, Sansovino built, right at its side, on the Grand Canal, the Mint of Venice, *la Zecca*, a monument of much more doubtful worth and of only mediocre interest. Next, he erected the church of *San Giorgio dei Greci*, which is perhaps his best religious edifice (1538), and then, he busied himself with the decoration of the *Scala d'Oro*, the grand staircase of the Ducal palace. Finally, he began in 1540 the little Loggia at the foot of the Campanile which he chiselled, one might say, entirely with his own hand; (Pl. 59) an unestimable jewel, if one is willing to confine oneself to taking it for what it is meant to be : a pleasing bit of decoration fashioned in the richest materials; a composition of contestable quality when reduced to its general scheme, and particularly, when one compares the height of the attic with that of the minuscule composite order. The *rhythmic bay* is however, well arranged, and, in fact, the success of the decorative elements is such, that one can devote himself freely to the pleasure of admiration without reservation, as one would do in the case of a reliquary, forgetting that one is confronted by what is almost a monument.

*St. Giorgio dei Schiavoni* is a rather later work (1551). At this time, Sansovino's renown was beginning to pale before that of the master from Vicenza, who was about to endow Venice with the churches of the Redentore and of San Giorgio Maggiore. Among the pupils of Sansovino, may be cited : Alessandro Vittoria (1525-1608), the architect of the Palazzo Balbi; Giovanni da Ponte (1512-1591), who built the Prisons (1589) and the Bridge of the *Rialto* (1588-

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(1) Referable to the frieze of the Farnesina, by Peruzzi (1506).

(2) In spite of the freedom Sansovino took, in not breaking out his entablature over the projection of the pilastres (a projection very slight at that).

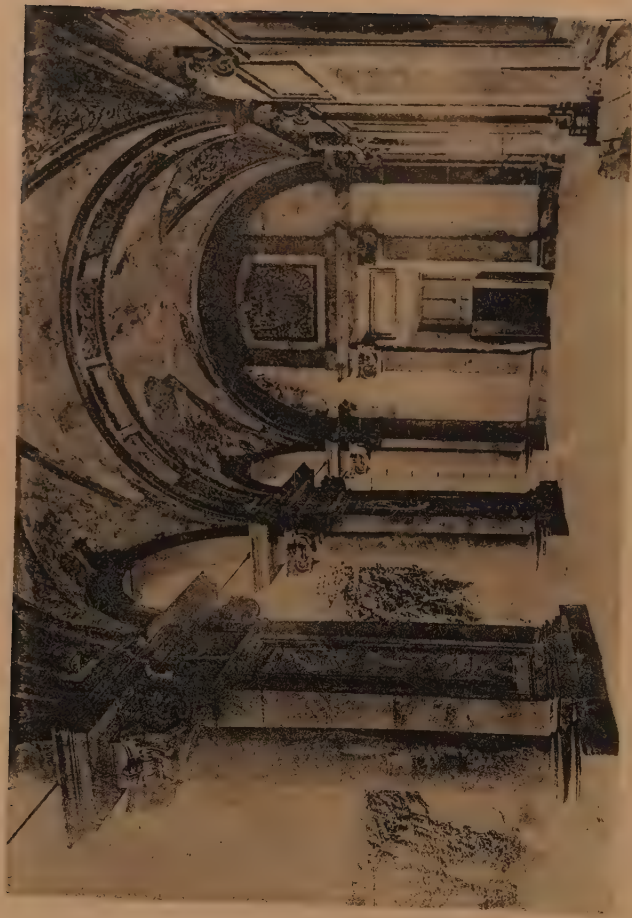
1592); lastly, Antonio Contino, to whom we owe the covered passage that joins the Ducal Palace to the Prisons, the communication so universally known under the name of the *Bridge of Sighs*.

One sees that, for social and political reasons, it is at Venice that one finds, at the best period of the Renaissance, the monuments in which the Roman influence displays itself more worthily. Later, after the brilliant career of Palladio at Vicenza, his pupils, such as Scamozzi and Longhena, embellished Venice with still more constructions, mayhap less pure, but always pleasing and full of character and life. Strictly speaking, one could divide the Renaissance into three centres : Florence, Rome and Venice. But where as the first of these cities shone forth alone during the fifteenth century, only to abandon then all initiative, letting Rome reap the benefit of its heritage almost at once, Venice had always three schools completely distinct, and hardly even influenced by one another : that of the Lombardi to begin with, that which we have just studied under the leadership of Sanmicheli and Sansovino, finally that of Palladio and his pupils, which was surely neither the least brilliant, nor, in particular, the least rich in lessons for us.





FRASCATI



LOGGIA IN THE GARDEN OF VILLA MONDRAGONE

## CHAPTER VII

### DECADENCE AT ROME

INFLUENCE OF MICHAEL ANGELO.—VIGNOLE AND DELLA PORTA.

— THE LARGE VILLAS. — THE MILANESE. — BERNINI. —  
SALVI, GALILEI AND FUGA.

We have already said, at the beginning of our study, that we feel a certain repugnance at employing the word « *decadence* » in designating, at Rome, the flourishing period which includes the end of the sixteenth century and all the seventeenth (1). It is all too plain that purity of detail barely outlived Vignola; overcome with a thirst for novelty, the artists who succeeded felt themselves authorized by the boldness and freedom of Michael Angelo, in risking in architecture the most dangerous innovations. But this epoch has produced really too many great works for it to be condemned, as a whole, without hesitation and regret. The aberrations of a Borromini ought not to blind us to the merit of artists such as Domenico Fontana, Flaminio Ponzio or Bernini, nor above all, to the talent, crammed with facility, verve and richness, of the following generation, such as Fuga, Galilei or Niccolo Salvi. These have, even in their most dubious works, such qualities of originality, movement and life, that one can say of the best artists of the time that they have, often enough even, raised their talent to the point of *approaching* genius, without however attaining it; they display the boldness, the grandeur, and once in a while, a little of the madness of genius. It would be a mistake to think that, for that reason, they ceased inspiring themselves from the lessons of the past, but they interested themselves

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(1) Mr. Geoffrey Scott in an interesting book published in New-York in 1914 sees in the architecture of this period the real *Architecture of Humanism*.

more particularly in those examples that partook of a certain « *character* ». « Artists », says M. Bertaux, « hardly seek any longer, among the mementoes of antiquity, beauty, which was Greek; they want imposing colossal grandeur, which is Roman and Imperial. The influence of Michael Angelo and the undertakings of Sixtus V were preparing the victory of an art which was to be more *roman* than the art of Raphael, even as the *art* of the Antonini, with its palaces and its baths, had been more Roman than the classic attic style of the period of Augustus. » (1).

In fact, it is to Sixtus V and to Paul V Borghese — as it is often enough remarked — that Rome owes, in large part, the appearance she has preserved to these days. If we except the official constructions built since 1870 by the Rome of Italian unity, — with the two grand avenues opened up to assure the circulation indispensable to a modern capital —, most of the churches and palaces, even most of the houses, present along whole streets, whole quarters, façades of the commencement of the seventeenth century. There are, among them, works of extremely unequal worth : some bad, often of the worst, but also some excellent ones. Taking their inspiration from Roman *ensembles*, such as the Imperial Forums, rather than from any single monument dating from an epoch of great purity, the architects now rediscover a feeling long forgotten, the feeling for air and light, in a word, the sense of space, which is perhaps the only real progress of modern times over the Renaissance (2). It is to this, for example, that St. Peter's owes a forecourt of satisfying breadth, worthy of being the access to the cathedral church of the Christian world.

We French would be showing little gratitude, if we complained of the extreme freedom which reigned in the Italian compositions of the period; when a school of art, under the

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(1) Rome, III, Ch. VI.

(2) We think there has not been sufficient emphasis laid on this characteristic, particular to the Roman decadence. We have had the pleasure to find this idea again, several times, in the work, already cited, of M. A. Mauviel : *Petites Villes d'Italie*.

influence of certain masters, seems bent on inspiring itself directly from another, it is all the better for it that the latter should have realized its possibilities to the full. The century of Louis XIV knew how to get marvellous ideas from rather dubious models, in restudying them with the taste and the restraint which have almost never failed us. And in spite of all the value of Bramante's works, there was more to glean after Palladio than after him.

Michael Angelo was the first to exhibit in his compositions a double tendency which, necessarily, led his followers into errors of principle for which they have been bitterly criticized. In the first place, he seemed no longer to regard the elements of architecture, except as simple decorative motives, without bothering about their rôle in the construction : if a pediment can justify its place over a window by the desire to throw off the water on either side, a break in this pediment is certainly not justified. And, besides, the great artist never restrained his pronounced taste for the colossal (1). These are both characteristics of the epoch of which we are about to treat.

It is a necessary concomitant of any classification that it must include, in matters of art, much that is arbitrary. The first of the architects of the decadence, Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola (1507-1573), is perhaps the most purely classic that the Renaissance has produced. But being thirty-two years younger than Michael Angelo, he belongs to the generation which followed him, and being the author of the *Gesù* — the mother church of the Jesuit Order (2) — he is, in religious architecture, the creator of the style which bears their name, and to which belong many churches, founded during more than a century later by their powerful organization, in Italy, in France and elsewhere. Very simple in lines and general scheme, this church is

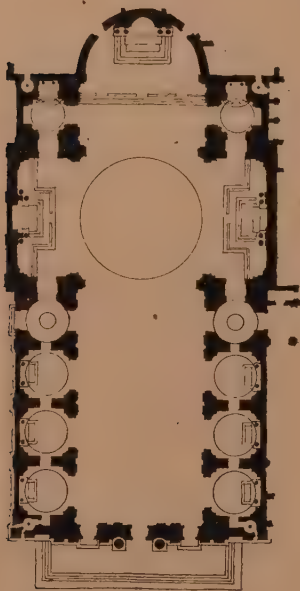
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(1) See Anderson, Ch. VI.

(2) Begun in 1568 and finished only in 1675. The Jesuit Order had been recognized in 1540 by Pope Paul III. The church was erected at the expense of Cardinal Alexander Farnese, second of the name.



decorated in an unbelievably sumptuous way with everything that art, aided by costly materials, can add to the interest of architecture. It is a happy example of one of the most striking effects there are : that of an extremely brilliant decoration applied to motives very simple but in



*Plan of the Gesu, Rome.*

perfect proportion. We find somewhat the same impression in one of the last works of Vignola, the church of *S. Maria degli Angeli* at the foot of the mountain of Assisi (1569), where the nave, pierced with doric arcades in plain white, without the least trace of décoration, reveals between its piers, the chapels on the sides covered with a luxurious decoration in warm colours. The ceiling of the Gesu by Baciccio, is also the first work of a whole school; it is doubtless one of the first examples of those tumultuous compositions in which clouds and winged figures project, from the frame, to encroach on the architecture,

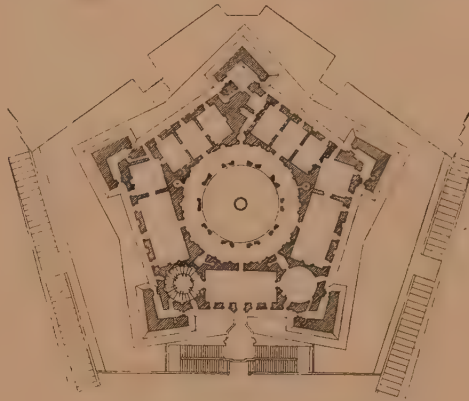
if need be, giving a false shadow over certain parts (1). We shall find these rather melodramatic effects in the Chapel of the chateau of Versailles. The façade of the Gesu is not by Vignola, but by his pupil Giacomo della Porta. Over the main doorway, we find already the motive of two pediments one within another; and that the master would hardly have done.

To tell the truth, the talent of Vignola seems not to have

(1) The ceiling by the Jesuit father Pozzo, at St. Ignazio is at once the *chef-d'œuvre* of the type and of this master of perspective.

been always freely and entirely developed: a modest and conscientious workman, artist of very classic tastes at a moment when people were commencing to seek effect above all, one might say that he came at the wrong time and that he was born a quarter of a century too late; instead of designing at the side of Bramante, the fortune of life made him the underling of Michael Angelo (1). Never were two

talents more different and incompatible: Vignola could only submit, on the part of his master, to influences too contrary to his temperament for him ever to benefit in the least by them.— There is hardly any doubt that he worked on the



*Plan of the Farnese Palace, Caprarola.*

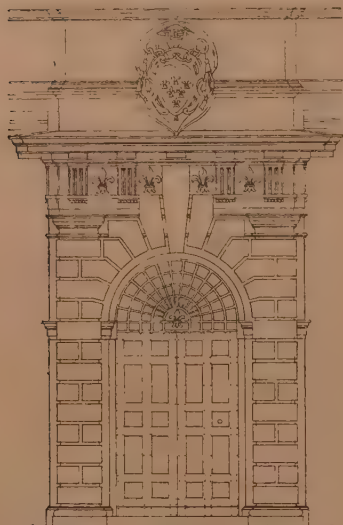
Palazzo Farnese at the same time as Michael Angelo when Antonio da Sangallo died, and it is doubtless that he met there Cardinal Alexander (2), nephew of Paul III, who entrusted him, in 1541, with the building of his castle at Caprarola. This vast residence, on a pentagonal plan, in the manner of a fortress (with a base with bastions) dominates with its proud silhouette and its beautiful gardens, a little mountain village, fifty kilometers north of Rome, in the direction of Viterbo. The façade, with its

(1) There actually is under the arcades of the *Cancellaria* a door crowned by a mezzanine (as seen again in the Farnese Palace), in which the hand of Vignola is recognized instantly. But this piece of work is necessarily much later than Bramante, who died when Vignola was only seven years old. It was Vignola, besides, who arranged in the same palace the classic doorway of the Church San Lorenzo in Damaso.

(2) Second of the name.

three stories of orders, with its details finely studied, recalls the style of Bramante; a circular court on the interior serves to connect the apartments; and this would be the *chef-d'œuvre* of Vignola, if it did not seem certain, in spite of what Vasari says, that it is to him we should attribute the Villa of Pope Julius III, built in 1550 near the Porta del Popolo. (1)

It is well to point out here how the architects of this time



Entrance: Caprarola-Palace.

seemed to modify the spirit of their compositions the instant they built outside of Rome; there is no relation between the classic purity, rather cold, of certain columnar compositions of Vignola, and the very freely conceived details of the gardens and of the Casino at Caprarola. At the Villa del Papa Giulio (Pl. 60), the plan develops itself, on the interior, about a court and a semi-circular colonnade that precede a casino and a little nymphaeum: these sage artists realized that fantasy can be perfectly proper in the de-

coration which gives charm to a temporary residence, where as one must reserve calm and pure lines for buildings inhabited the year round, with which one must absolutely not have the chance to be bored. This relationship between the architecture of suburban villas and that of Roman pa-

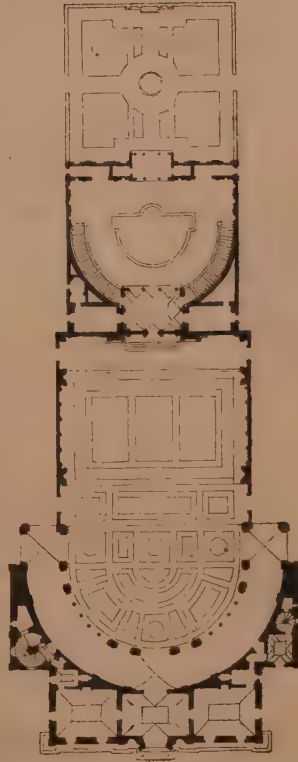
(1) At the north of Rome.

(2) Among the works of Vignola which have justly been termed classic, let us cite at Caprarola, the entrance door, and the window with Ionic columns; at the villa del Papa Giulio, the beautiful rusticated windows of the ground floor, and at the ends of the façade, their very simple arrangement with a mezzanine. (Page 138).

laces, is one of the most precious lessons of a century which has given us generously of them. (2)

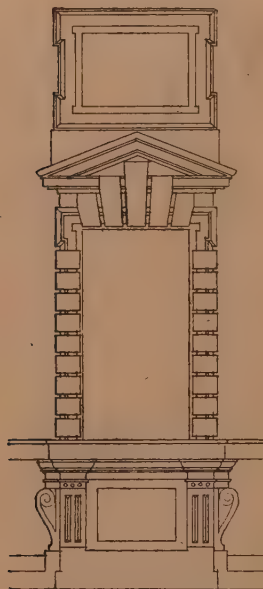
Of course, Vignola is known universally as author of the *Treatise of the Five Orders*, a work written at the request of a society of archeologists as a commentary on a translation of Vitruve : for this Roman architect, whose worth is quite contestable, was considered as a sort of oracle by an entire generation, because he was the sole critic of antiquity whose works have come down to us. Vignola's *Treatise*, after all superior to his model, presents us a sort of *mean* established for the different orders after excellent models. He himself never felt compelled to apply invariably the rules he thus seemed to wish to impose; his work, conscientious and precise, will be a document of unlimited value as long as there is a Latin architecture employing Roman elements.

Vignola had the direction, from 1564 on, of the work on the Church of St. Peter's. We have seen that his collaboration was restricted to the secondaries, of an agreeable silhouette and incidentally very pure in detail. For the Farnese family, he decorated the gardens of the Palatine, the beautiful portal of which, giving upon the Roman Forum, disappeared in our days, when the house of the Vestals was disengaged. The Farnese Palace, at Piacenza, is also built after his plans (1558). It is well to mention also among his works, the



Plan of the villa del Papa Giulio.

*Capella Sant' Andrea*, a little building in a very antique mode (1550) near the Villa del Papa Giulio; the Porta del Popolo (1561), enlarged later by Bernini, and the two porticos giving access, at the top of the steps of the Capitol, to the Tarpeian Rock and to the convent of Ara Coeli (See p.139). Lastly, we must not forget to recall the collaboration of Vignola in the charming *Villa Lante* (1), at Bagnaia near Viterbo, and the two beautiful porticos of the *Villa Mondragone* (2), on the slope of the Frascati hills.



Window and Mezzanine  
in Villa di Papa Giulio.

This architecture of suburban villas is precisely one of the most characteristic forms of Roman art of the second half of the cinquecento. As we walk about the shady alleys of their ever verdant gardens, we realize that the enlightened aristocracy of this epoch demanded something else of their architects than simply majestic and haughty palaces; we understand that they doubtless preferred these fresh residences decorated with less of solemnity than fantasy and taste. We have said that the masters of the times knew how to modify this same taste, according to circumstances and places: once more, the remembrance of

the Florence of Cosimo and of Lorenzo de Medici imposed itself on the Romans of the Renaissance, for whom Peruzzi, in 1506, had created, at the Farnesina, the first type of

(1) Built by Cardinal Gambara in 1566 and finished by Cardinal Montalto.

(2) This collaboration is less certain. The villa itself is by Fl. Ponzio and dates from 1574. Vignola who died in 1573, had nevertheless been able to give Cardinal Altemps the design of these porticos, or complete them before the main building.





VILLA MÉDICI



THE GARDEN, SEEN FROM THE LOGGIA



these little houses, or *casinos*, whose rooms, with delicate stucco ornaments, seem made less to serve as the habitation of the owner than to shelter the valuable booty discovered in recent excavations, and to serve as modern temples for all the gods of Olympus resuscitated. The first, the most famous of these villas was built in 1540 by Annibale Lippi for Cardinal Ricci de Montepulciano. Bought a half century later by the Medici family, it is now known by their name (*Pl. 61*). It is probable that Pirro Ligorio collabo-



*One of the Capitol porticos, by Vignola.*

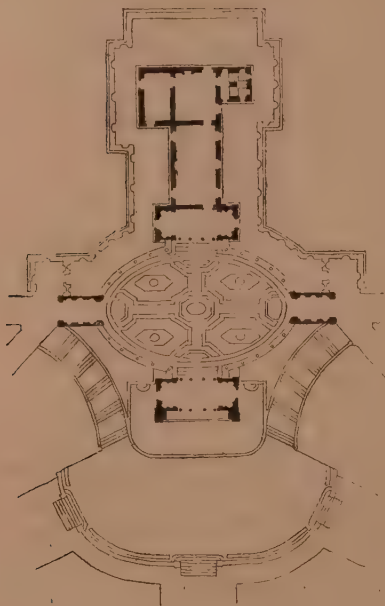
rated with Lippi on the arrangement of its pleasing façade, richly adorned with friezes and antique fragments. It is quite the same spirit which one finds again at the charming casino of Pope Pius IV, built by Ligorio in the Vatican gardens, and known under the name of the *Villa Pia* (1560).

The ruined motives and the beautiful park of the Villa d'Este (1) of which the well-known plan is a typical example of composition on the side of a hill (*Pl. 63*), still attracts

(1) Built in 1549 by the same Ligorio for Cardinal Hippolyte.

to Tivoli such visitors as are not discouraged by the affecting melancholy of the ruins in a garden left to abandon ; the little loggia of the staircase, executed in stone, is still in good state, but there is little left of the stucco work, eroded bit by bit by the humidity of the cascades, fountains and jets of water. It is really hard to form an idea of

what this Villa must have been when the stuccos, in all their freshness, made just so many bright spots against the foliage of the clipped trees, and when the pines, the cypresses and all the vegetation was not yet there to intercept the perspective of the superposed terraces (Pl. 62).



*Plan of Villa Pia, Vatican.*

Country seats soon grew in numbers, whether at the very gates of Rome, or farther away, on the slope of the Alban mountains. It was there Giac, della Porta built in 1598 the *Aldo-brandini Villa* (Pl. 63).

The *villa Doria Pamfili* near Rome, is a composition of Algardi : it is a work much more recent which dates only from 1644. More than a century later still, the architect Marchionni (author of the Sacristy of St. Peter's), built, not far from the emplacement of the ancient gardens of Sallust, the villa of Cardinal Albani (1760).

The pupil of Vignola who succeeded him in the work on St. Peter's and took an active part in the execution of the



TIVOLI



GARDEN OF THE VILLA D'ESTE

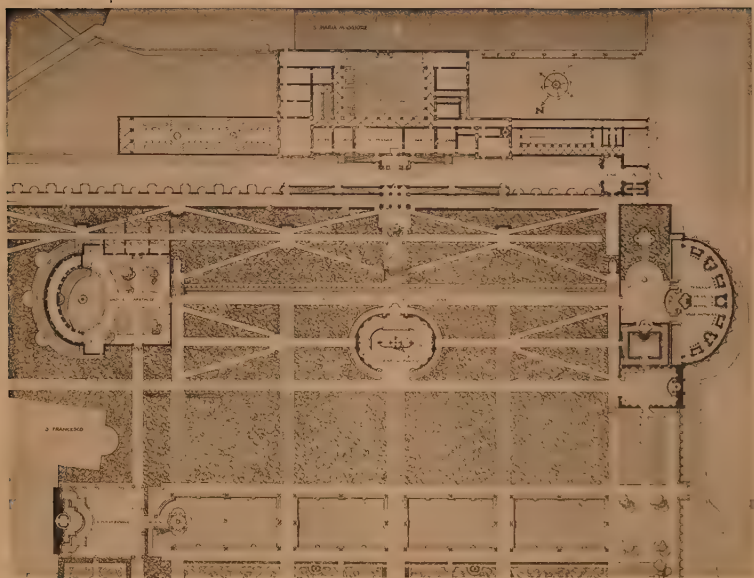
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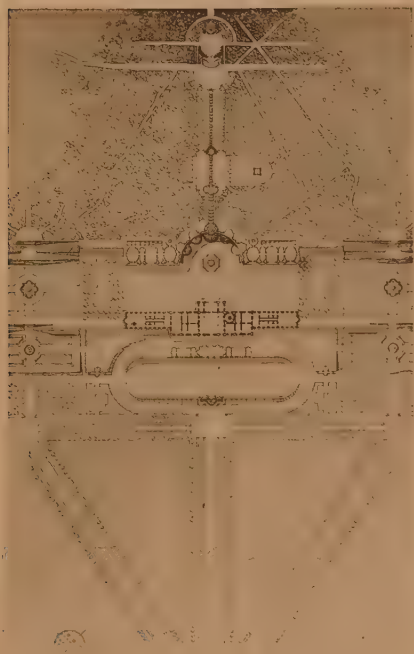
*Cliche Keating*  
NYMPHARUM OF THE VILLA ALDOBRANDINI







THE VILLA D'ESTE, TIVOLI



VILLA ALDOBRANDINI, FRASCATI

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dome, Giacomo della Porta (1541-1604), evidently felt still more than his master, the influence of the works of Michael Angelo. It is easy to discern in his compositions, at once a simplicity of line, which can only be due to Vignola's teaching, and a complexity of detail useless enough, in which the imitation of the great Florentine architect went astray. The college of the *Sapienza* (1576) was built by Della Porta on plans commenced by Michael Angelo. We have already said that the façade of the church of the *Gesu*, which Vignola left unfinished in 1573, was also the work of his pupil. It is to Della Porta that we owe, again, the façade of *S. Luigi dei Francesi* (1589) a correct composition, but insignificant and lacking in character. Genoa has a monument by him of more importance; the great church of the *Annunziata* (1578) adorned with a sumptuousness that recalls the interior of the *Gesu* and which, in spite of certain weaknesses, thoroughly deserves our attention: we easily detect there the spirit which in the seventeenth century, is to become that of the French Jesuit style. Let us not forget that Della Porta built in 1598 at Frascati the great residential portion of the Villa Aldobrandini.

In spite of the fact that he collaborated on the work of completing St. Peter's, Della Porta was not, even in an epoch in which great works were being produced on every hand, what we would call to-day the *official* architect. It was another artist, Domenico Fontana (1543-1607) who found his way into the confidence of Sixtus V, and who justified that confidence to a certain extent by an indefatigable activity and an astonishing cleverness in bringing to realization, almost instantaneously so to speak, the vastest projects of the pontiff (1). If one recalls that Sixtus V — whom legend has tried to represent as an erstwhile shepherd

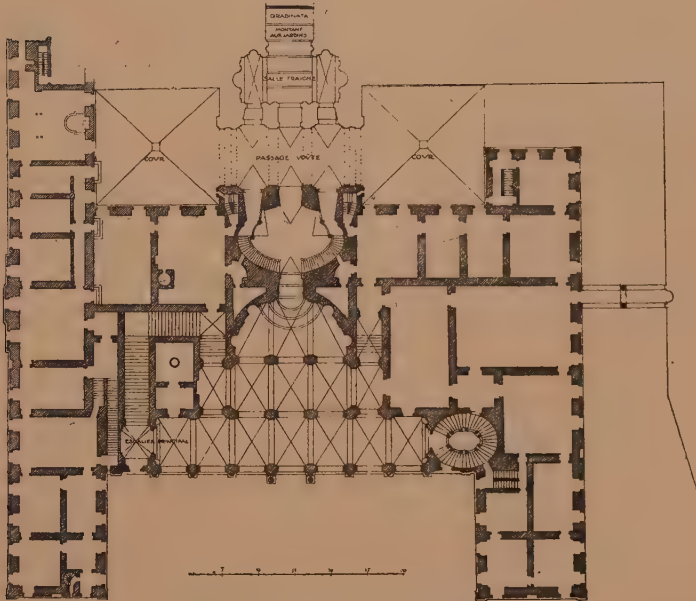
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(1) Moreover Fontana collaborated with Della Porta the work at St. Peter's.





became the Vatican Library; that the Lateran and the Quirinal — two enormous palaces — were hastily erected as papal residences; that a richly decorated chapel, a second Sistina, was built in Santa Maria Maggiore as a memorial to the pontiff; that, following out an idea of Julius II, Sixtus V had outlined the plan of a new quarter of Rome (the Borgo Felice) and opened up the *Via Sistina* to join the Esquilino



*Plan of the Barberini Palace.*

to the Pincio, as Julius II had the *Via Giulia*; that great public works were undertaken, that two aqueducts were entirely restored (1) and that more than twenty five fountains were placed in various quarters; lastly, that several

(1) These two aqueducts, and one other existing then, assure the modern capital to this day an enormous supply of pure water, which helps greatly to make it a healthy city.

antique obelisks, among others that of the Piazza of St. Peter's, were erected to the glory of triumphant Catholicism. All this, in five years, was the work of the pontificate of Sixtus V, and it is also the work of Fontana.

After the long and brilliant list of Florentine and Tuscan masters, intervenes the reign of Lombard architects. Fontana and Maderna, his nephew, the fantastic Borromini himself, rival of the Cavaliere Bernini, the three Lunghi, Ponzo, Algardi, are all from Tessin or the plains of the Milanese. As to Carlo Maderna (1556-1639) his most important work is plainly the completion of the nave and the façade of St. Peter's, which we have mentioned above as a composition without character or of any *real* interest. The decoration of the vestibule shows more genuine good qualities; Maderna, none the less, shows himself here a firmly convinced follower of the style founded by Michaeli Angelo as in the *Mattei* Palace (1616) or the church Santa Maria della Vittoria (1). He is one of the designers of the Palazzo Barberini and of the church of St. Andrea della Valle; the great fountain known as the *Acqua Paola* on the Gianicolo (1611) is the result of his collaboration with Domenico Fontana (Pl. 64). Among the works of Flamino Ponzio (1570-1620) we can note the *Palazzo Sciarra* (1600) with a porch that has become classic; the *Capella Borghese*, at Santa Maria Maggiore, burial place of Pope Paul V (2), lastly, the façade of the church San Sebastiano, not far from the gates of Rome, on the ancient Appian Way. On this latter work (1612) Vasanzio collaborated.

Anxious, no doubt, to go down to posterity as a patron of the arts in the manner of Leo X or Julius II, Urban VIII

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(1) Where Bernini's St. Teresa is to be found.

(2) This chapel is a replica, with more refined detail, of Domenico Fontana's Sistine Chapel. It was built circa 1611.



THE ACQUA PAOLA FOUNTAIN



THE SCALA REGIA, IN THE VATICAN  
*Cliche Alinari*

THE

LIBRARY

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF

CHICAGO

Barberini first sought out an artist of sufficient ability and versatility to be the Raphael or the Michel Angelo of his pontificate. The Neapolitan sculptor Lorenzo Bernini (1599-1680) artist capable of both good and bad, but often of absolutely remarkable compositions, was invested with the superintendence and retained it for many years at Rome. At the age of eighteen, this extraordinary improviser won fame by his group of Apollo and Daphne which is still in the Borghese casino. We have already said that his masterpiece in architecture is the colonnade of St. Peter's (1629-1667) ; his meddling with the church itself had infinitely less happy consequences. All the striking decoration, devoid of scale, that masks for us the beautiful proportion of the nave, the huge *baldachino*, so many details, whose least fault is a restlessness that shocks one in a building of this character, are due to him. In the grand apartments in the Vatican, destined for the reception of ambassadors and foreign princes, his rather theatrical taste was exercised under more favourable conditions. He decorated the *Sala Ducale*, but above all, created the main staircase, the *Scala Regia* (Pl. 64) under an immense sloping barrel vault, with the effect of length augmented by the rather childish trick of building it in perspective, with constantly lessening width and all the elements reduced in proportion.

To Bernini also are due the completion of the Barberini Palace and the building of the Montecitorio ; the fountain in the Piazza Navona, a tortured composition recalling a little the huge « throne of St. Peter's » was also built after his plans. His fame as architect and sculptor was such in 1665 that Louis XIV did not hesitate to call him to Paris, at great expense, to prepare a scheme for the completion of the Louvre by a façade opposite St. Germain-l'Auxerrois. The Chevalier Bernini (1) was received at Versailles with the ceremonial reserved for ambassadors. Two works of unequal worth recall his visit : The bust of the King which

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(1) Bernini had the title of Chevalier of Christ.



adorns the Salon de Diane and the equestrian statue that was so displeasing to Louis XIV as to be relegated, by his order, to the far end of the *Pièce d'Eau des Suisses*. As to the façade of the Louvre, his idea was mediocre (1) and the Colonnade so familiar to us is a conception of much more grandeur. To do justice to Bernini, we should go to see his marvellous figure of Santa Teresa at Santa Maria della Vittoria, and walk slowly along the left wing of the portico of St. Peter's, observing through the four rows of columns, the view of the Vatican which dominates the opposite wing, behind the obelisk and the fountains, whose waters driven by the wind, fall far beyond their marble basins and drench one side of the Piazza.

Would it not be better not to mention at all Francesco Borromini (1599-1667)? We have been so careful to appreciate justly the talent of his contemporaries in an epoch usually looked upon with ill-favour, that we do not hesitate to admit that, in the case of this artist, his works themselves would often be ample justification of such an attitude. The absence of any logic, the hatred of simplicity and, on the other hand, a marked tendency towards complexity and wilful originality, above all else an insatiable desire to surprise, to astound, these are the most striking faults which make the work of this architect a sort of *résumé* of all the acts of licence, the faults, the aberrations against which one usually takes pains to warn beginners. The walls are no longer plain surfaces: the elevations bulging out here and there look like a flexible screen bent to a curve, on which, to add insult to injury, the lines of the mouldings themselves seem to remain in horizontal plans only against their will. Pediments, which at that would seem to break these lines, are not satisfactory to Borromini unless they are curved *in plan*. As to the general proportion, it disappears under a profusion of broken cornices and

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(1) The *projet* is published in the work of Blondel.

ROME



FAÇADE OF S. GIOVANNI IN LATERANO





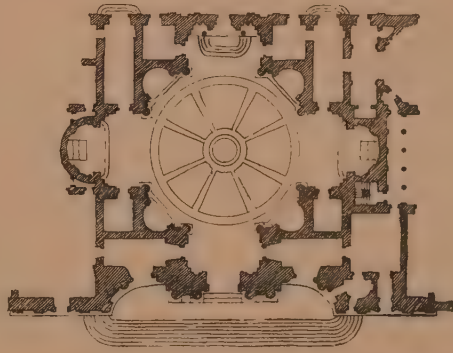
CENTRAL MOTIVE OF THE TREVI FOUNTAIN





superposed orders which it is hard to imagine unless one had actually seen the incoherence of these deplorable compositions. Deplorable, because so bold an innovator finds always to follow him a host of obscure artisans anxious to make a name by innovations still less justifiable, because a fool always finds a greater fool to admire him. Deplorable, lastly, because Borromini supplanted Bernini as official architect — at least under the pontificate of Innocent X (1) — and that many monumental buildings were thus disfigured by unfortunate additions or modifications. The interior decoration of the venerable church of St John Lateran, the church *S. Carlo alle quattro fontane* (1640), a portion of the Barberini palace, and the church Santa Agnese in the *Piazza Navona* (2) are among his best known works.

The influence of Bernini, exercised almost a hundred years later on artists doubtless better prepared by study to make something of it, produced in the first half of the eighteenth Century a School of architects of a saner type, certain of whose works retain, though still too pompous, something of the Roman grandeur of the period of Michael Angelo and Sangallo. The famous *Fontana di Trevi* (1735) designed by Niccola Salvi after a



Plan of S. Agnèse, piazza Navona.

(1) From 1644 to 1655.

(2) This is doubtless Borromini's best effort. The rather interesting plan

sketch by Bernini (*Pl. 66*) is perhaps the best work of the time. But the great porch in two stories of St. John Lateran (1734) which Michael Angelo would certainly not have condemned (*Pl. 65*) justly saves from oblivion the name of the Florentine Alessandro Galilei (1691-1737) (1).



0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40  
*Plan of the porch of St John Laterano.*

The façade executed in 1743 for the basilica of *Santa Maria Maggiore*, less simple in composition, yet produces a happy effect; it is a work of Ferdinando Fuga (1691-1780) already known by the palace built at *Trastevere* for Cardinal Neri-Corsini, nephew of Clement XII. Fuga seems to have been less inspired in certain other religious edifices, notably in Sicily. It might be said that since the middle

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was laid out by Girolamo Rainaldi about 1650. « One willingly admits », says Le Tarouilly « that the parti of the façade is perfectly fitting; that without changing its mass or modifying its proportion, but in simply refining certain details, suppressing certain bizarre ones, the façade so corrected would do honour to the masters. Borromini possessed imagination and real ability; it is his vanity which pushed him to insubordination with regard to rules which he always broke, and to all the rash eccentricities which led the artist astray and lost him a reputation ». (Text of *Pl. 177*).

(1) The façade of the church of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, is due to him. The church commenced by Della Porta after Sansovino's drawings.

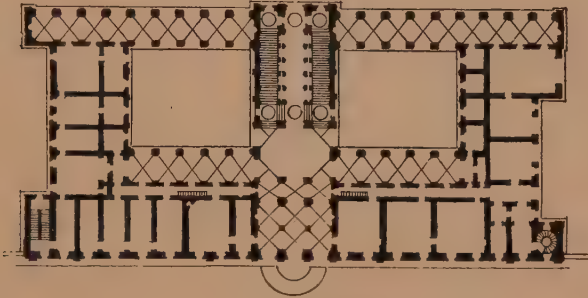
ROME



PORCH OF S. MARIA MAGGIORE



of the preceding century the Renaissance had completed the cycle of its evolution ; the artists of the Eighteenth Century in Italy were content to seek their inspiration in



*Plan of the Corsini Palace.*

the immense productions of their predecessors. England and France, and in their train all Europe, will draw therefrom in their turn the forms of a new architecture, under the decisive influence of Palladio.



## CHAPTER VIII

### THE END OF THE RENAISSANCE OUTSIDE ROME

DECLINE AT FLORENCE. — PALLADIO AND HIS PUPILS AT VICENZA AND VENICE. — LONGHENA. — GALEASSO ALESSI AT GENOA.

While Julius II and his successors succeeded in attracting to Rome the flower of Florentine artists, the progress of the arts in Tuscany remained, if not actually at a standstill, at least entirely subordinate to the evolution of the Renaissance in the capital of the Christian world. Thus, the first half of the Sixteenth Century in Florence witnessed the erection of only very few edifices; we have, however quoted, right at the beginning, the works of Baccio d'Agnolo, such as the *Serristori* and *Bartoloni* palaces, and we must also recall the works of Michael Angelo and Raphael, to which we already alluded (1). Finally, the picturesque loggia of the Mercanti, known as the *Mercato Nuovo*, was erected in 1547 by Bernardo del Tasso, by the order of Grand Duke Cosimo the first (2) (*Pl.* 68).

Among the artists who worked at Rome during the second half of the Cinquecento, it is best first to mention the pupil and admirer of Michael Angelo, Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574) less known perhaps by the merit of his personal compositions than on account of the interesting biographies he has left behind of the great architects and artists of his day. In 1540, however, he had executed at the *Signoria* or *Palazzo Vecchio* the vigorous rusticated façade overlooking the Via del Leone (*Pl.* 68). It is he who undertook later

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(1) The new sacristy of San Lorenzo and the Laurentian library of Michael Angelo, the palaces Pandolfini and Uguccioni of Raphael.

(2) The elder branch of the Medici became extinct with Alexander, first Grand Duke, in 1537. The title then passed to the Younger branch, descendants of a brother of Cosimo the elder.



VASARI'S DOOR, PALAZZO VECCHIO



*Cliché Allnart*

MERCATO NUOVO





FLORENCE



*Cliché H. J.*

THE UFFIZI PALACE AND THE PALAZZO VECCHIO



on, at the death of Michael Angelo, to finish the staircase of the Laurentian library, and it must be recognized that to-day it is not easy to distinguish where the Master's work ended and Vasari's began. His most important work, without doubt, is the Palazzo dei Uffizi (1560-1574) where the Grand Ducal government offices were to be housed, and where to-day is exhibited the priceless collection of the so-called *Uffizi Gallery* (Pl. 69). This monument which is slightly incorrect, is nevertheless not devoid of merit; there is in it an attempt at a new arrangement of the elements, and it is probably, as it caused Burckhardt to remark « the first building of public utility having a definite object ». Let us add that Vasari, a rather mediocre historical painter, was given the great hall of the Signoria to decorate, and he collaborated with Zuccari on the frescoes of the *Sala Regia* at the Vatican.

We know that the rear façade of the Pitti Palace (Pl. 70) with its three stories of rusticated orders (1568) is, like the filling in of the arcades of the principal elevation (Pl. 3), the work of Bartolomeo Ammanati (1511-1592). The *San Spirito* bridge, the *Giugni* Palace (1560) were likewise carried out from his designs. He constructed at Rome, for the Jesuit Order, the Roman College next to the Church of Sant' Ignazio (1582), as well as the Negroni Palace, residence of Luigi Mattei (1564). This last building still deserves to be mentioned among the works of the best period: there is in the firm treatment of his profiles something of the manner of Sangallo.

Buontalenti (1586-1608) and Cigoli, who are responsible for the elevation and the courtyard of the huge *Nonfinito* palace, Nigetti, who covered with a sumptuous decoration of coloured marble the Mortuary Chapel of the Medici princes (1604), are, at Florence, the last architects we have to remember.

At Vicenza, at Venice and at Genoa, the end of the Renaissance was to witness the erection of buildings of much more

considerable importance. At Vicenza, especially, from 1550 to 1580, the art of building was revived, so to speak, because of the inspiration of a master whose influence has scarcely ever since failed to be felt, and who can justly be considered — in France especially — as the father of modern architecture. As far as we are concerned, we have drawn but very sparingly from the work of the Florentine Fifteenth century; the Roman Renaissance, at its decline, has left us especially, the style of the churches of Vignola and Della Porta. It is in the inexhaustible variety of Palladian compositions that the French Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries found the greatest number of their *partis*, which our artists have restudied after him and most of the time, without inferiority.

Andrea Palladio was born in 1518, and it may be said that he passed almost the whole of his life at Vicenza, for he hardly ever left his native town, except for the short absences necessitated by his studies and his work. He was one of the first to publish in a book the measured drawings which he himself executed from the antique; later on he added thereto the plans of his diverse compositions, and this collection, completed after his death by his pupil Scamozzi, soon gained an enormous reputation. The « Four Books on Architecture » published first in Venice in 1570 and which subsequently ran into many editions, gives us geometrical designs of most of the Master's creations and constitutes for us to day a wealth of precious documents.

By even glancing through this vast work, one is astonished on the one hand by the importance given therein to the study of the antique, and on the other, when one gets to the Palladian works themselves, by the variety of *parti* which distinguishes each new edifice. This is indeed a veritable treatise on architecture by examples. One after the other, the Master seems to point out for us the motives which it is possible to utilize, earnestly showing us in each case the effect they produce on a finished monument. Sometimes the orders are superimposed; sometimes a single row of columns, decorating the first floor rests on a rusticated base;



PALAZZO PITTI AND BOBOLI GARDEN



PALAZZO PITTI. — WINDOW BY AMMANATI



VICENZA



*Cliché H. J.*

THE BASILICA





often again, a large order takes in the height of two floors, and this disposition would characterize well enough Palladio's manner, if he had not in reality quite as often adopted other schemes.

Furthermore, we must distinguish the cases in which he crowns this order with an attic, and in which the roof simply rests on the last moulding of the entablature... It would appear that he did not wish to appropriate any of these architectural motives, and yet it has sufficed for him merely to have employed them *once* for them to bear for ever his powerful stamp and make them « Palladian ». The scheme of the Basilica at Vicenza itself (*Pl. 72*), that arrangement universally known as the *Palladian motive*, was only employed by the Master in *one* of his works, the first, and others before him, such as Peruzzi or Sansovino (1), were able to adopt it on occasion without the motive being considered a particular innovation on their part.

The Basilica at Vicenza (*Pl. 71, 72*) commenced in 1549, was the first work of Andrea Palladio, the one which assured his reputation, the one which has been the least discussed. The gothic arches which encircled the *loggia municipale* of the town demanded immediate reconstruction. Palladio was entrusted with the work and he saw in the erection of this great two storied portico an occasion to recall the antique basilicas, the remains of which he may have seen in the approaches to the Roman Foro. In this primitive building, there existed axes very irregularly spaced and which had to be taken into consideration (2). This difficulty, almost discouraging, was solved by the architect in the most ingenious manner; adopting the motive we know, he kept the arch, in each bay, of constant dimensions, while the intercolumniations at each side, under the architraves of the small order, were spread more or less according to the distance between the axes. It is impossible, without being

(1) On the first story of the Library at Venice (*Pl. 58*).

(2) It is thus that the inter-axes of the grand orders vary from 7 m. 62 to 7 m. 95 i. e. from more than one foot.

forewarned, to perceive that such irregularities exist in this façade. The corner bay, corresponding to the width of the porticoes, is accentuated by narrower motives which aid the effect of solidity by grouping the elements at the ends. The general structure doubtless very closely resembles the Roman monuments which the Master wished to take as his inspiration; perhaps even did the advantage remain in the moderne composition: the doubling in depth of the small orders gives a perspective effect of abundance and richness which it is difficult to conceive in such a simple elevation. The great architect moreover, did not hesitate to give himself his due : « There is no doubt », he said « that this construction can be compared with the antique, and it can be considered as one of the noblest and most magnificent edifices erected since antiquity... » Happy the artist who can bring such an appreciation to bear upon his work, without one's being attempted, after three and a half centuries, to change one single word of it!

This beautiful monument immediately met with sufficient approval as to entitle Palladio to the favour of his fellow citizens. The number of palaces, large or small, that they requested him to erect at Vicenza is considerable enough to give to certain parts of this interesting town, a character of perfect unity. One actually feels that one and the same architect conceived the decoration of the whole lot, and one is only astonished at the fact of this distinct impression in spite of the diversity of his *partis*. Thus, in the façades of Palladio, whatever the motive may be that has been adopted, it is easy to detect the two characteristics which are to be found in the whole of his work : First, the care taken that it shall remain purely classical in recalling in its detail, the beautiful antique fragments which he had long studied, — then the desire to accentuate in the composition the importance of the order chosen, and to make of it a primordial element to which the dimensions of the bays and the height of the stories should be entirely subordinate. To tell the truth, this last tendency would speedily have become a serious fault in an artist less brilliantly gifted; it

VICENZA



*Cliché H. J.*

THE BASILICA





is difficult to know how far Palladio had been influenced by the contemporary works of Michael Angelo : the architect of Vicenza has very often something of the grandiloquence of the Florentine master, but he always redeems by conscientiousness and accuracy of study anything we might be tempted to reproach him for as regards the choice or logic of the *partis*(1). Among so many edifices erected in his native town, we will restrict ourselves to mentioning the principal ones only.

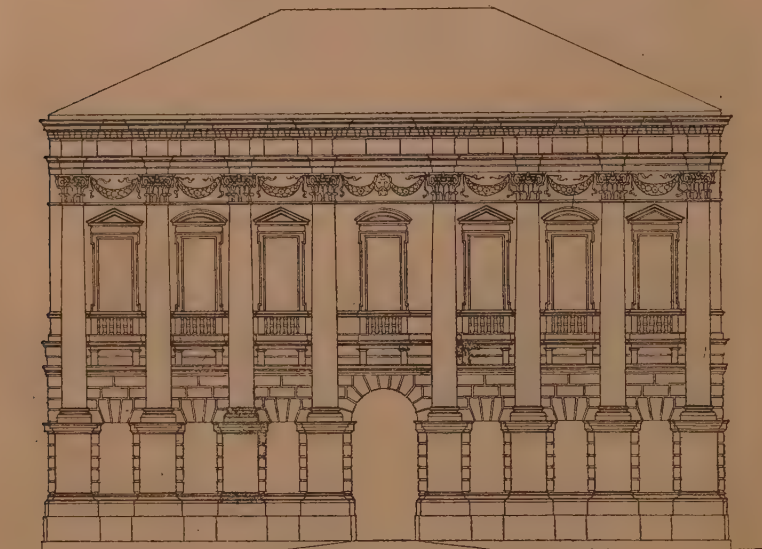
The majority are the private residences of the wealthy. We will first consider three of them in which a large order occupies the height of the principal stories. In the *Valmarana* palace (1556),



*Valmarana Palace.*

(1) It is thus that at the Municipio of Vicenza, the elevation would appear to show a high vestibule, a story for habitation and an accessory floor. In reality the two last stories only form a single hall with a very lofty ceiling. The great interest of this façade makes one forget this fault in principle (Pl. 74).

as in the Loggia del Bernardo (1) (1571), this order is crowned by an attic (*Pl.* 73) ; while in the case of the only two bays completed of the Porto palace (better known by the name of *Casa del Diavolo*) the roof is superimposed without intermediary on the mouldings of the composite cornice. The windows of the top story are here placed in the frieze. In all three cases, the entablature



*Palace known as: Casa del Diavolo completed after Scamozzi.*

breaks out over each column or pilaster; this is a licence — but without doubt less serious than the cutting of the windows in the architraves, in the beautiful motive of the Loggia del Bernardo. The complete façade planned for the Casa del Diavolo is published, moreover, in the various editions of Palladio; it is a composition which is not lacking in grandeur.

The same year in which he constructed the Valmarana

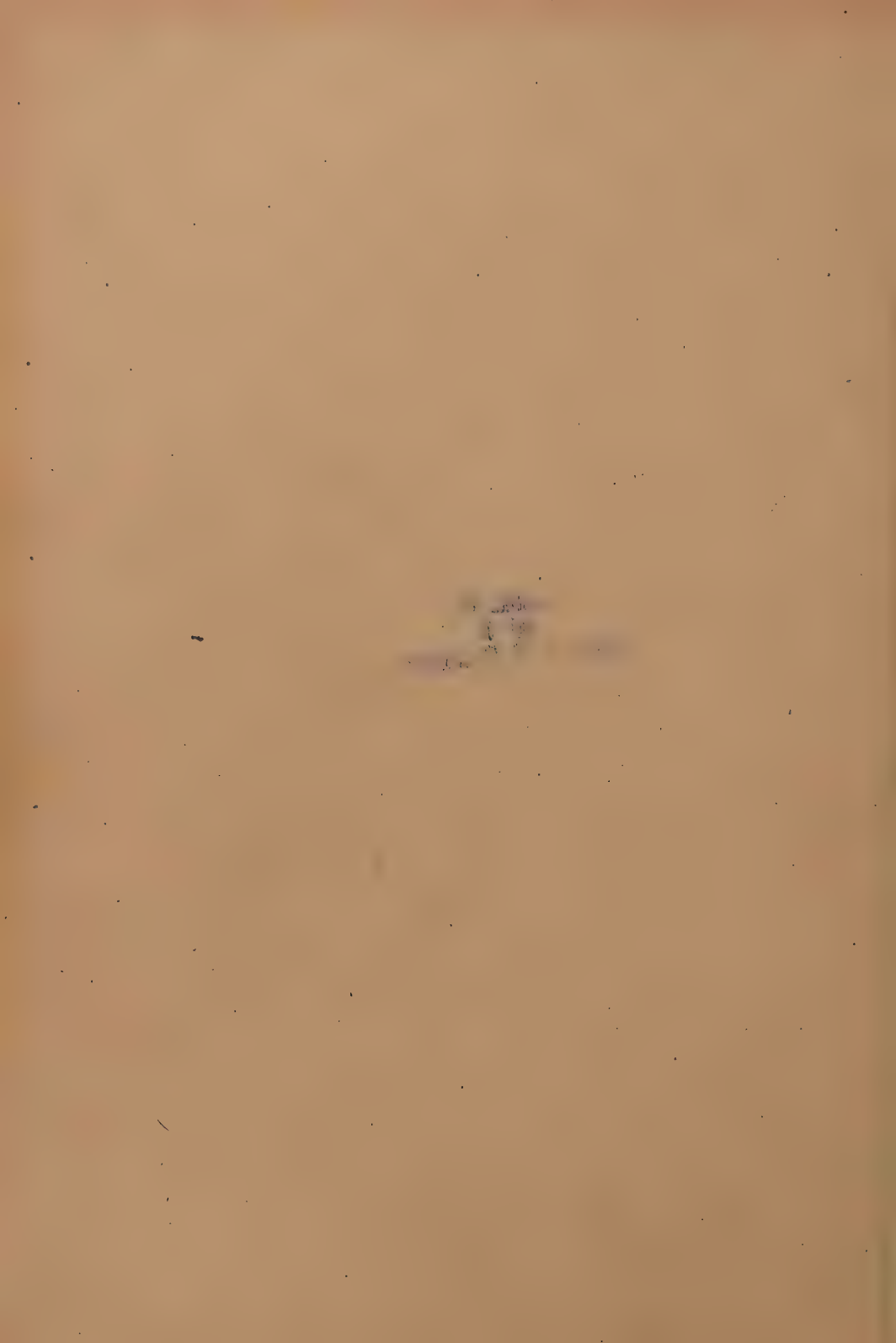
(1) The Municipio itself. The ensemble of the façade ought to have had seven bays. Three only were carried out.

VICENZA

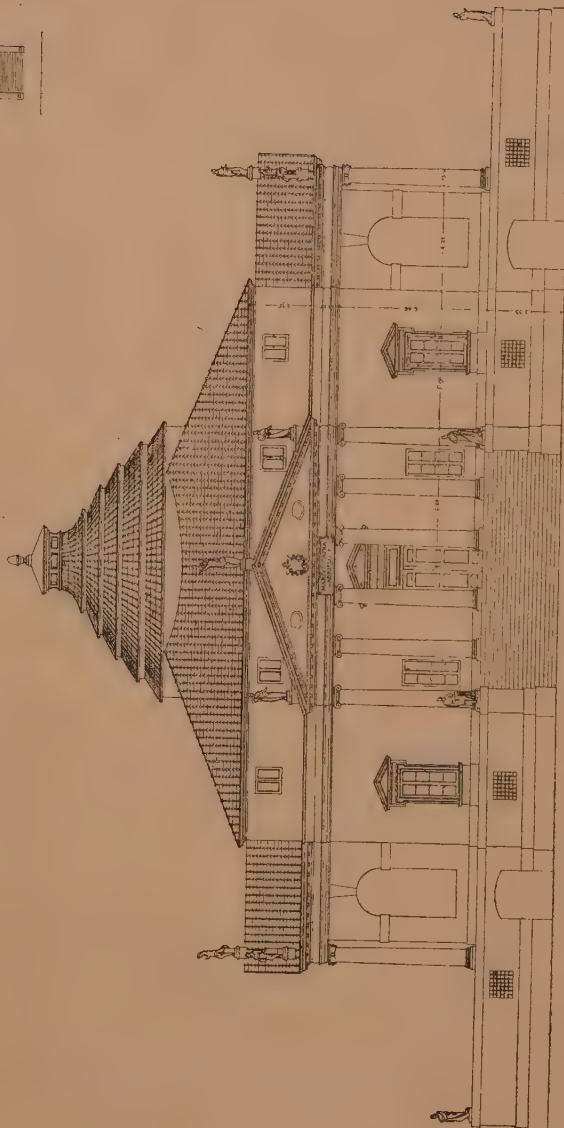
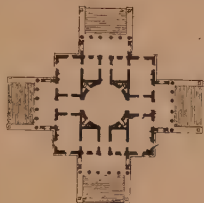


*Cliché H. J.*

LOGGIA DEL BERNARDO



VILLA CAPRA.  
VICENCE.



THE PALLADIAN ROTONDA





palace, Palladio laid the foundations of another important building, the *Tiene* palace (1556). The order, here, is restricted to the first story; the whole elevation is entirely decorated with rustication and string courses and the windows of the *piano nobile* (1) crowned with pediments, are flanked by Ionic half columns tied into the wall, course by course, by rustications arranged in squares. This motive was adopted by Ammanati at the Pitti palace for the façade overlooking the gardens (1568).

Superimposed orders were adopted by Palladio only for decorating the palazzi *Chiericati* (1566) and *Barbarano* (1570). The former, transformed to-day into a museum, offers a rather novel arrangement: while the whole length of the ground-floor has a doric portico of unbroken cornices, the central part of the first story carries a wall pierced by windows which rest on the architraves of the order below (2).

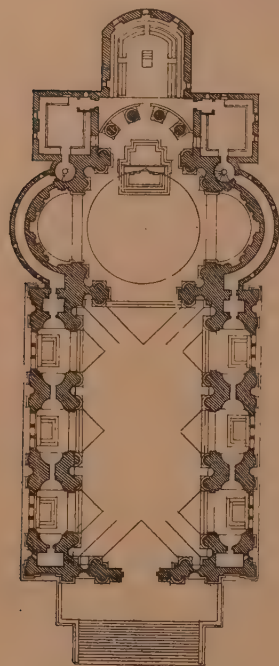
The Barbarano palace, with its very simple lines, its uninterrupted cornices and its ground-floor windows surmounted by a rectangular bas-relief, foreshadows, two hundred years before, that style which was to be the French Louis XVI. If, however, one is studying in its entirety the domestic architecture of Palladio, it would seem that one of his most definite innovations is the suppression of the old division of stories by horizontal string courses following the fairly logical custom in Florentine and Roman palaces; it is with vertical slices, with bays, that the façades will henceforth be composed.

In the immediate neighbourhood of the town, and further away, in the fertile plain which extends beyond Padua, Palladio also constructed for his rich compatriots, a whole crowd of pleasure resorts. One of the most celebrated is

(1) The Italians call the principal story: *piano nobile*.

(2) This motive is found notably in Paris, in the façade of the *Théâtre Français*. The architect, Victor Louis, is one of those who studied most carefully the works of Palladio. The beautiful order which surrounds the garden of the *Palais Royal* is visibly inspired by the great motives of which we have above spoken.

the Villa Capra (*Pl.* 74), known principally by the name of the *Rotonda*. Situated on an elevation, commanding several fine views, on the very slopes of *Monte Berico*, this little building, so simple in spite of its monumental appearance, adds charm to a pleasant countryside.



*The Redentore, plan.*

At Vicenza itself, four years after the death of Palladio, in 1580, by the performance of a Greek tragedy was inaugurated his *Olympic theatre* which was inspired after the arrangement of the antique, with its immovable scenic background decoration of three streets of palaces and colonnades, executed in amusing perspective, radiating away from the back of the stage. All this decoration, agreeably treated with stucco, is especially interesting as it shows with what liberty and intelligence the Renaissance comprehended the antique and was able to obtain inspiration from its knowledge.

We have just alluded to the elements, statues, garlands or bas-reliefs in stucco, which so often accompany Palladian architectural lines. — The Master

was here aided by clever collaborators whose names have not descended to us. Except for the construction of the Basilica, never indeed had Palladio at his disposal, at Vicenza, anything but brick and coats of stucco; columns, ornaments, moulding, everything is treated with stucco, even when the rustication of the base imitates, very cleverly, rough-hewn blocks of stone. Need we add that the majority of his decorations, in the relatively cold climate of Vicenza have, after three centuries and a half, deteriorated in the most regrettable fashion?



THE "REDENTORE"

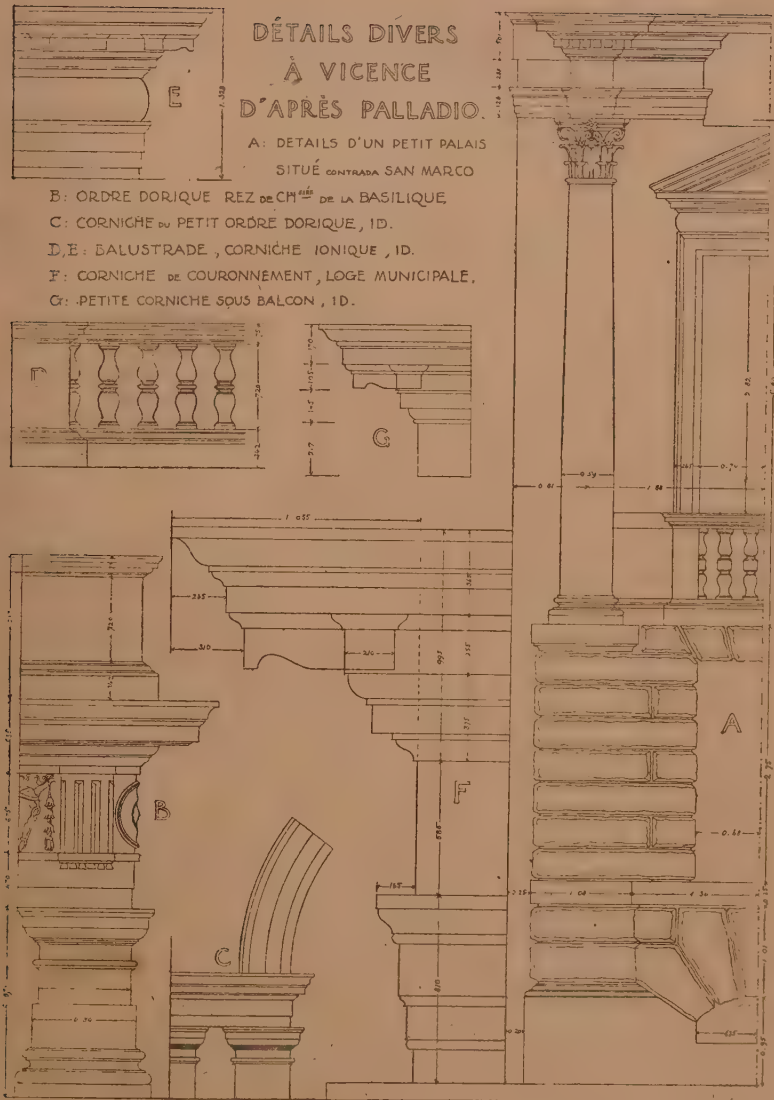


*Cliche Keesling*

S. GIORGIO MAGGIORE







PROFILS AFTER PALLADIO



It is curious that one has to go to Venice to know the churches of Palladio. He produced nothing in the way of religious architecture at Vicenza, and it is at Venice that we find the *Redentore* on the Guidecca (1576), and *San Giorgio Maggiore* (1560) on the island opposite the Library, the Ducal Palace and the Prison. Their façades are fairly similar; for the first time, doubtless, one finds here also the free use of the colossal order. But the great attraction of these two monuments lies in the beauty of their interior arrangement. It would seem that proportion is predominant; rarely has the Renaissance shown herself so sparing in the way of ornament, and seldom has she achieved such an impressive result by the aid of such simple means. The *Redentore*, in particular, is perhaps the church of this epoch which most nearly approached, by its calm nobility, the idea which we form to-day of the *character* of a religious edifice (*Pl.* 75).

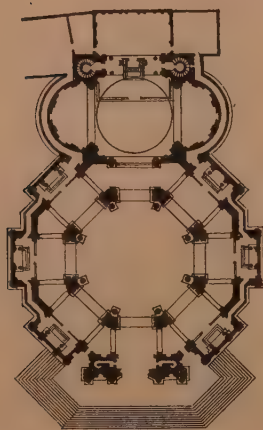
The façade of *San Francesco della Vigna* (1568) is also attributed to Palladio, and again it is at Venice that his pupils have produced their most interesting work up to the middle of the following century. Vincenzo Scamozzi (1552-1616), who completed certain of the Master's constructions and who actively occupied himself with the publication of the « Four Books on Architecture », is chiefly known for having continued on a whole side of the Piazza San Marco, but adding thereto a story, the motive of Sansovino's Library. The *Procuratie Nuove* (1584), in spite of the difficulty of a problem such as this, and the meagreness of the motives used, presents three superimposed orders which still produce a rather fine effect (1).

It is Baldassare Longhena (1604-1675) who finished at

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(1) A similar problem was posed to *Gabriel* who had to complete, on three sides of the large courtyard of the Louvre, the order of Pierre Lescot, replacing the attic by a third story. This adjustment, of a style hardly any longer appreciated then, was studied however with very sure taste and perfect intelligence.

Venice the brilliant era which we have chosen to study. It is to him that Venetian art is largely indebted for having escaped — anyhow longer than others — the progress in « Barocco » architecture. He conceived and realized at Venice an almost perfect type of votive church (1) and his palaces on the Grand Canal, which have remained true to the traditional Venetian scheme, do him without doubt, no less honour. It was decided in 1631, in order to record the end of an epidemic, to erect at the entrance to the basin of St. Mark's, a memorial church dedicated to Santa



Plan of  
Santa Maria della Salute.

Maria della *Salute* (Our Lady of Health). This large octagonal building with a cupola and side aisles, with its interesting silhouette and masterly studied dome known by all, is yet a very traditional work although apparently arranged in a somewhat new manner (*Pl. 77*). The interior, visibly inspired by Palladio's churches, is not less imposing than the perspective effect of the ensemble which gives such a particular physionomy to this corner of the Venetian scenery,

completed at about the same period by the picturesque motive of the Custom-House, the *Dogana* (2). With regard to the *Rezzonico* Palace (*Pl. 78*) and the *Pesaro* Palace, both of 1650, their vigorous basements deserve to be studied with special care. That of the *Rezzonico* Palace is very purely classical and can be compared with the finest examples of that beautiful period. That of the *Pesaro*

(1) That is to say erected as the result of a vow; as opposed to the *parish church* which requires a nave, side aisles and the necessary arrangements for the performance of religious offices.

(2) The *Dogana di Mare* was carried out by Benoni in 1682, the same year in which the church was completed.

VENICE



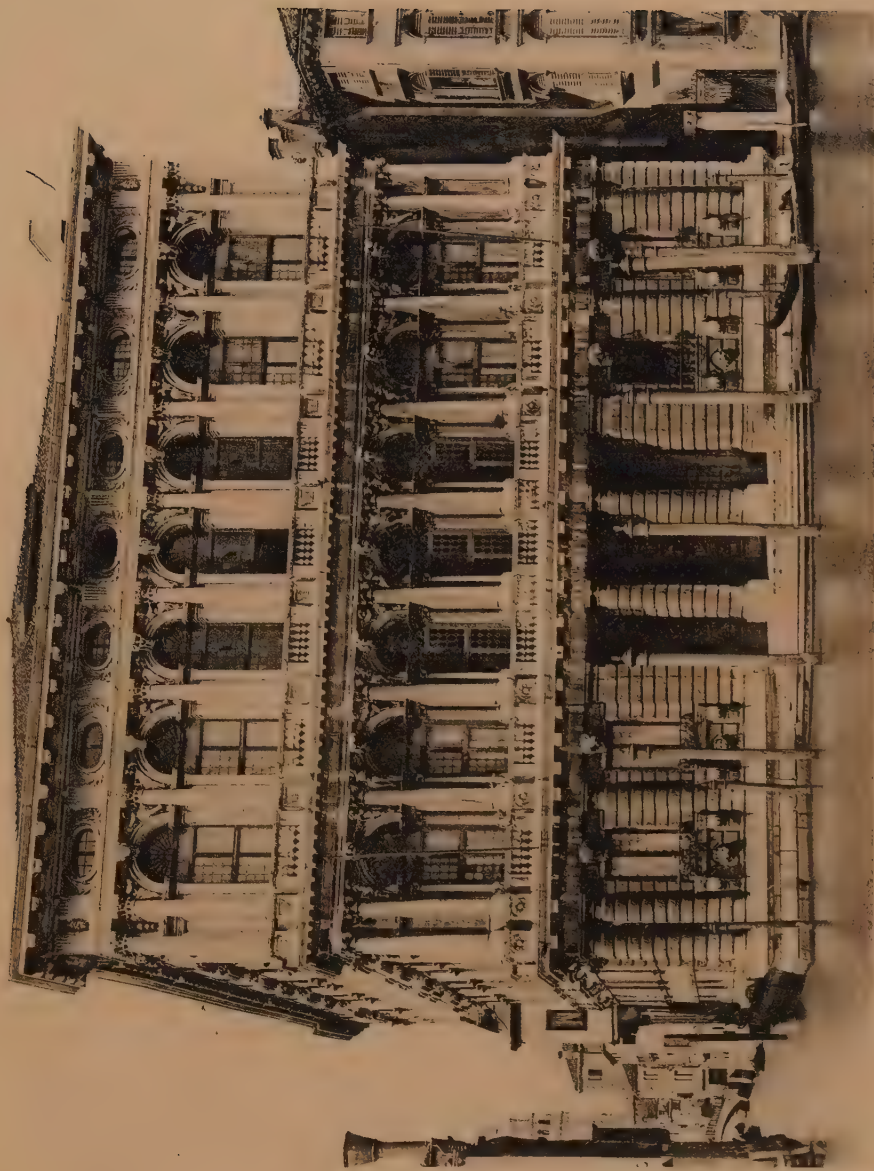
S. MARIA DELLA SALUTE

*Cliché Allinari*





VENICE

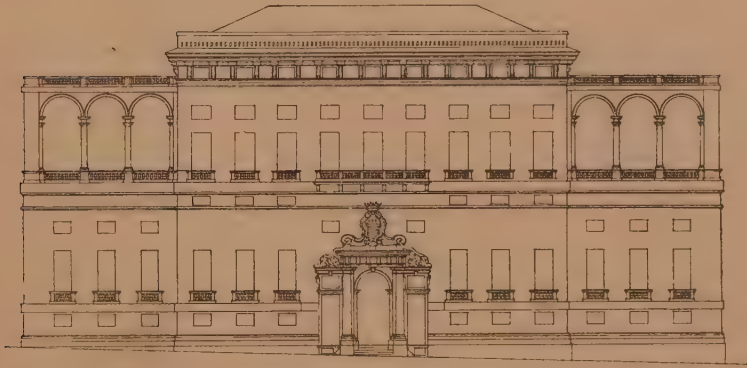


*Cliché Alinari*

THE REZZONICO PALACE



Palace, quite as pleasing but more free, of extreme richness in its decoration of diamond-shaped rustication, is of a less severe type of art and less directly inspired by the architecture of the great Sanmicheli. The upper stories of the two palaces are treated in an almost identical manner: a recollection of Sansovino, the sculptor-architect of the Loggetta and the Library is felt in the double series of their arches on which the projection of the keystones and the figures of the spandrels is particularly accentuated. The mass of the two buildings is, however, of very happy pro-



*Palazzo Durazzo, Genoa.*

portion. The Renaissance, at the decline, was not to witness at Venice the erection of indifferent or dubious constructions. It died out in all its beauty, leaving behind so many wonders that it hardly seemed that any free space was left in which to create a new masterpiece.

Genoa, that other Queen of the Sea, had also, beginning in 1550, her period of true splendour. It is Galeazzo Alessi (1500-1572), the pupil of Michael Angelo, who was to a certain extent, the Palladio of that « city of Kings ». Alone, he appears to have erected, for the rich Genoese shipowners, that series of palaces, at once simple and

sumptuous, which line the two sides of the *Via Balbi* and the *Via Nuova*, and which offer us an impression of unity which the Roman palaces, themselves, more scattered about, only give in certain parts of the *Corso*... Amongst those which are most striking in their decided simplicity, the *Durazzo Pallavicini Palace* (1) is perhaps the one which most deserves notice. The whole interest of this high façade lies in the importance of the cornice and in the amplitude of the entrance motive, surmounted by a great coat of arms crowned itself by the balcony of the piano nobile, only projection from the flat wall (*Pl.* 79); the windows are only simple openings, without mouldings. Following an arrangement adopted in many of these vast residences, the two little loggias situated at the level of the balcony extend the line of the principal apartments as far as the extremities of the façade. The *Tursi-Doria Palace*, the actual *Municipio*, constructed by Lurago in 1564, and the *University* of Bartolomeo Bianco (1623) are very interesting variations of the same scheme. The entrance door of the latter palace, the interior staircase of the vestibule, the balustrades which end in the figures of lions *rampant*, are motives justly renowned. Forced by the steep slope of the ground, the raising of all the edifices to the level of the courtyard, and the arrangement of the staircases leading to them, have created in this case beautiful effects of perspective peculiar to Genoese architecture. The *Rosso* and *Zercara* palaces (1556-1557) are the work of Galeazzo Alessi.

This architect, whose study of detail is not always up to the standard of his composition of the whole, made himself known from 1550 by the monumental gateway called the *Molo Vecchio*, at the entrance to the Harbour at Genoa, in which is to be found a little of the spirit of certain compositions of Sanmicheli. Later, in 1558, he decorated the façade and the courtyard of the *Marino Palace* at Milan (2)

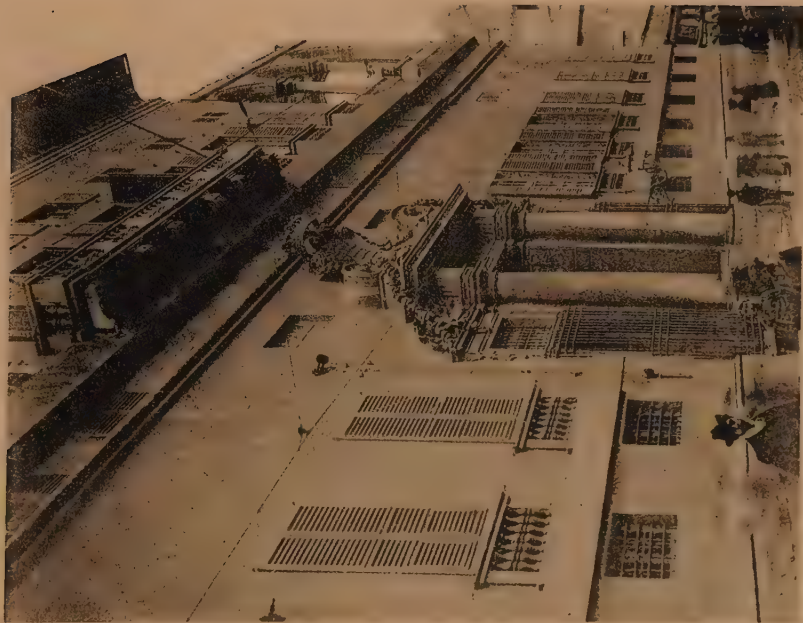
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(1) Or. Marcello Durazzo Palace (1556).

(2) To-day the Municipio.



GENOA

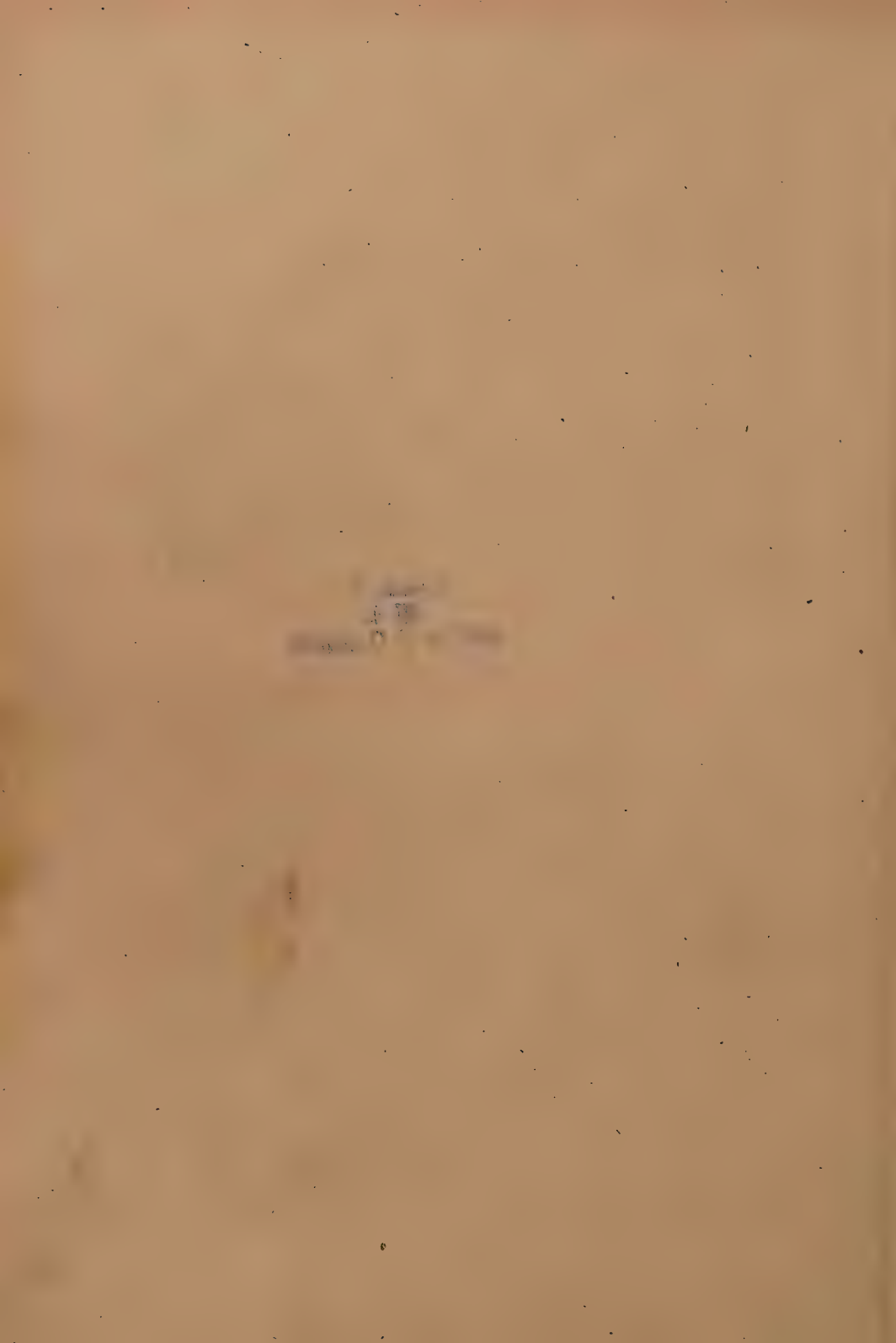


PALAZZO DURAZZO

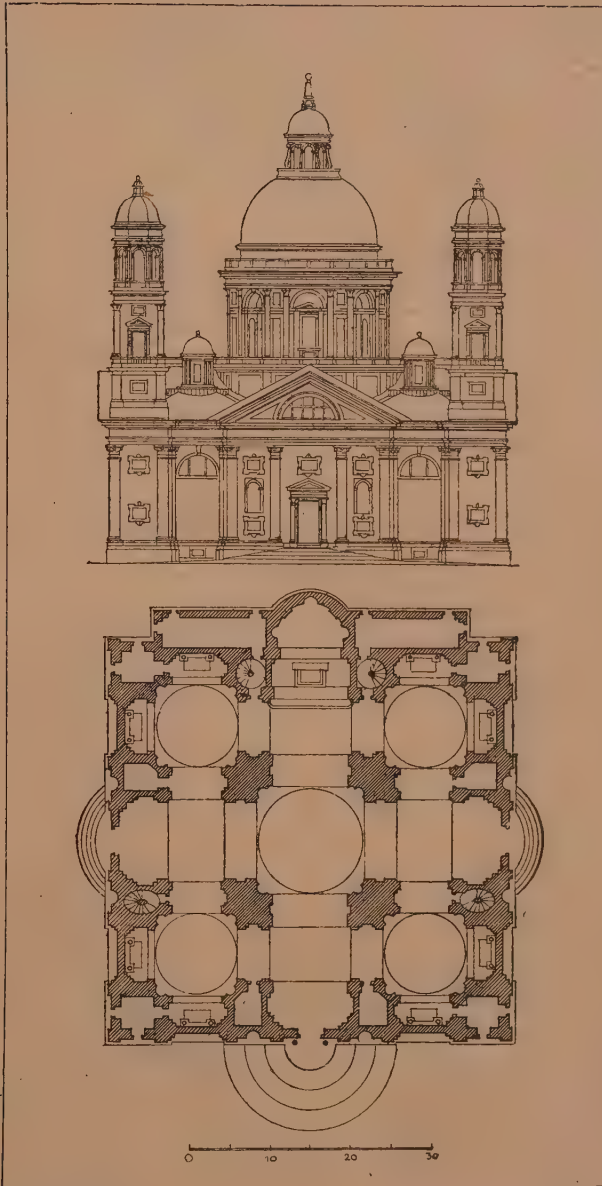
GENOA



THE UNIVERSITY, COURTYARD



GENOA



After Gauthier.

PLAN AND ELEVATION OF S. MARIA DI CARIGNANO

THE  
END

but this time with a grace which is not free from a certain intricacy. His principal work remains the large church of *Santa Maria in Carignano* (1552) a last attempt made to realise in religious architecture Bramante's dream for St. Peter's (*Pl.* 80). Perhaps even is the work of Galeazzo Alessi, in its more restrained proportions, one of the edifices which most nearly approaches the conception of the old Roman Master (1).

Thus, the study of the problem of a church with a dome was, until the end of the Sixteenth Century, forced upon Italian artists in their researches. Brunelleschi's dome at Florence and that of Michael Angelo at St. Peter's are certainly the two great examples which marked for the Renaissance a debut rich in promise and the approach of its decline. The works with which we have finally concerned ourselves and which were later than the pontificat of Sixtus Quintus, belonged already to the long period of *influence* during which all the Schools of Art, and those of Italy herself, came to draw their inspiration, in a sort of Second Renaissance, no longer from the Greek or Roman sources, but from the productions of the Italian Masters of the Quattro and of the Cinquecento, who had known so well how to translate the spirit of the antique in order to apply it to the needs of a new civilization. It was inevitably to be so. Roman elements, the diverse application of the orders, did not lend themselves, in short, but to a variety of restrained combinations. The Masters of the Renaissance in their apparently inexhaustible variety have left us with but little to do beyond gleanings after them.

Nowhere, undoubtedly, as the influence of this great period been so forcibly felt as with us. And it is in France, we must needs say, that it has been, especially in our times the more diversely appreciated. It seems however that facts of this kind escape precisely every kind of appreciation: when

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(1) Giovanni da Toledo, architect of the Escorial in Spain (1563) also, more or less, took up the same arrangement.



a style of architecture, imported into a country, holds its own for four centuries by producing beautiful things, there is a certain puerility in pretending that these four centuries have been merely deceived, and that this was not at all the style they should have adopted. A form of art could not be imposed upon a people, in a lasting form, except given a mass of affinities, to be met with in traditions, customs, language and literature. It has been said of « style » that it is the « man-himself ». It can be said of « style » in architecture that it is the people or the race itself, at a given period in its evolution. If the influence of the Renaissance still succeeds with us to inspire, from time to time, a great work, it proves that we have preserved to a certain extent, the spirit of that strong race which brought forth in the Fifteenth Century the Bramantes and the Brunelleschis. It is but a general tendency of men of all the ages to try and re-make history by re-arranging it in such a way that it is able to satisfy their personal preferences. How can we realise that it has been maintained to-day that our French architecture owes *nothing* to the Italian Masters? The Seventeenth Century, the Eighteenth and the beginning of the Nineteenth Centuries experienced an exclusive admiration for the Renaissance, which was not without certain drawbacks. The end of the last Century — as a phase of reaction — saw a whole school of artists rise up against this same Renaissance, even refusing it the right to have produced masterpieces... According to a foreign author (1) it will perhaps be the task of the Twentieth Century to put things right again. Without extolling in the least the *pasticcio* of Renaissance buildings, one is allowed to hope for, in a country of Latin tradition, the reinstatement to a place of honour, of the study of the incontestable Masters who have created, little by little, in architecture, this language of Latin elements, whence the greatest of our artists have drawn again and again the best of their inspiration.

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(1) W.-H. Ward. (*Archit. of the Renaissance in France*. Introduction.)

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GEORGES GROMORT

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# Italian Renaissance Architecture

A SHORT HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT  
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TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

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GEORGE F. WATERS



PARIS

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MCMXXII

















